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4 November 1985

# USSR Report

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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4 November 1985

## USSR REPORT

# INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### CONTENTS

#### WORLDWIDE TOPICS

Friendship Union Chairman on Ties With U.S., West (D. Velikiy; IZVESTIYA, 27 Sep 85) .....	1
Tolkunov Discusses UN Anniversary at IPU Conference (A. Melikyan; TASS, 4 Sep 85) .....	3
Soviet Influence on World Political Science Congress Lauded (Yu. Krasin; PRAVDA, 24 Sep 85) .....	5
UNESCO Communications Council Discusses Mass Media (IZVESTIYA, 16 Sep 85) .....	9
Soviet Position in Whaling Controversy Explained (M. Ivashin; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 38, 17 Sep 85) .....	10
Olympic Committee Chairman Speaks on Games Venue (TASS, 7 Sep 85) .....	12
New International Miners' Organization Established (TRUD, 22, 24 Sep 85; TASS, 23 Sep 85) .....	14
Conference Opens, by O. Karasev	14
Executive Bureau Listed, by Oleg Karasyov	15
Arthur Scargill Elected President, by O. Karasev	16
September 1985 Correspondents' Assignments Abroad (ZHURNALIST, No 9, Sep 85) .....	18
Book on Lessons of World War II Reviewed (M. Kozlov; KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, 26 Sep 85) .....	19

Briefs	
Air Pollution Document	21
Literary Congress in Alma-Ata	21
International Maritime Conference	21
<b>EAST-WEST RELATIONS</b>	
RL/RFE Broadcasts Said To Violate Treaties (ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 38, 17 Sep 85)	22
<b>SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS</b>	
CEMA: Environmental Protection Problems (N. Tulukova; EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY, No 7, Jul 85)	24
Bloc Countries' Energy-Saving Effort Featured (PRAVDA, 23 Sep 85)	35
First Congress of Psychiatrists of Socialist Countries (TASS International Service, 27 Sep 85)	37
<b>THIRD WORLD ISSUES</b>	
Review of Journal AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA No 7, 1985 (APN DAILY REVIEW, 26 Jul 85)	39
Development of Two Former Portuguese African Colonies Noted (AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA, No 7, Jul 85)	42
Sao Tome and Principe, by A. Tokarev, D. Golubev	42
Cape Verde Islands, by P. Danilov	42
<b>GENERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS</b>	
World Energy Situation Viewed (B. Savchuk; EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY, No 7, Jul 85)	43
<b>UNITED STATES AND CANADA</b>	
Ex-Senator Fulbright Interviewed on U.S.-Soviet Ties (Gennadiy Gerasimov; Moscow Television Service, 22 Sep 85)	56
PRAVDA Series on Slaying of U.S. Peace Council Figure (G. Vasilyev; PRAVDA, various dates)	60
TRUD Assails Senate Hearings on U.S. Role in ILO (TRUD, 13, 14 Sep 85)	67
Shultz Speech	67
Further Report, by A. Repin	68



Sturua Compares U.S. to Orwell, Lewis Carroll (Melor Sturua; IZVESTIYA, 19 Sep 85) .....	71
<b>WESTERN EUROPE</b>	
UK-USSR Agreement in Science, Education, Culture for 1985-1987 (SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR, No 10, 1985)	72
Portugal in Midst of 'Governmental Crisis' (Valeriy Volkov; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 25, Jun 85) .....	84
Scientific Cooperation With Finland (Yu. Nechayev; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 33, Aug 85) ...	94
<b>EASTERN EUROPE</b>	
GDR Official on Trade With USSR (Egon Winkelman; EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA, No 18, May 85)	98
PRAVDA Series on Polish Economic, Political Situation (B. Averchenko, O. Losoto; PRAVDA, various dates) .....	101
Romanian Membership in IMF Discussed (V. Voronetskiy; et al.; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 28, 9 Jul 85) .....	110
Yugoslavia's Measures To Solve Economic Problems Viewed (B. Medvedev, Ye. Stepanova; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 34, 20 Aug 85) .....	112
<b>LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN</b>	
Mexico's 'Economic Dependence' on U.S. Hit (Igor Valeryevich Goranskiy; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 28, Jul 85)	116
<b>CHINA/FAR EAST/PACIFIC</b>	
U.S. Economic, Political, Military Role in Thailand Assailed (Vsevolod Dmitriyevich Kalinin; ZA RUBEZHOM, No 34, Aug 85) .....	121
Legal Basis of Soviet Claim to Kurile Islands (M. Monin; ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, No 36, 3 Sep 85) .....	131
<b>MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA</b>	
Significance of USSR-Syrian Friendship Treaty Viewed (O. Fomin; IZVESTIYA, 9 Oct 85) .....	133
Language Policy in Afghanistan Discussed (Abduhafiz Ghaniyev; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI, 26 Oct 85) .....	136

Afghan Uzbeks Write to Soviet 'Homeland Society'  
(A. Luqmonov; OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI, 1 Feb 85) 139

Anti-Soviet, Anti-Azeri Propaganda in Iran Assailed  
(Rovshan Valiyev; ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT, 9 Aug 85) ..... 142

**SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA**

Moscow Conference on African Development Held  
(Yu. Ilin; OBSHCHESTVENNYE NAUKI, No 3, May-Jun 85) .... 143

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

FRIENDSHIP UNION CHAIRMAN ON TIES WITH U.S., WEST

PM271411 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Sep 85 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by D. Velikiy: "The Slogan Is Friendship for Peace"]

[Excerpts] The All-Union Society for Cultural Relations Abroad, whose successor in 1958 was the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries (SSOD), was constituted in our country 60 years ago. The union is now a holder of the Order of the Friendship of the Peoples, unites 31,000 primary organizations in the USSR, and maintains close ties with the public of 140 countries.

They say that you should wish those who are celebrating anniversaries what they would wish for themselves. That means the attainment of the goals they set themselves. What are they? Let's ask Zinaida Mikhaylovna Kruglova, chairman of the SSOD Presidium:

[Kruglova] Our work is aimed at developing peaceful cooperation between states and strengthening mutual understanding and friendship among peoples. And under present conditions, when the unbridled arms race unleashed by the reactionary circles in the West and above all the United States is threatening the very existence of mankind, this activity must be focused primarily on eliminating the threat of nuclear war and promoting a turn toward detente. This could be achieved by the joint actions of all peace-loving forces. There is no task of greater importance today. And if we were to resolve it, what prospects would be opened up in the development of friendly relations!

[Velikiy] Zinaida Mikhaylovna, is the movement for friendship with the Soviet Union strengthening in the present explosive world situation?

[Kruglova] Yes, undoubtedly. In particular Soviet-French, Soviet-Finnish, and Soviet-Austrian relations are developing successfully, and the sphere of cooperation and contacts with the public of other countries is expanding.

In the atmosphere of hostility and enmity toward our country implanted by the Washington administration, considerable efforts have been required to preserve relations with the U.S. public at virtually their former scale. The U.S. press notes that "contacts at nongovernmental level have been surprisingly steady." And that is one testimony to the profound alarm of broad U.S.

strata generated by the official course toward unrestrained nuclear confrontation and to the desire of these strata to normalize Soviet-U.S. relations and to seek a way out of the existing situation on the path of accords.

[Velikiy] There are trends in the West toward emasculating the process of friendly relations and reducing it to some kind of abstraction. That is on the one hand. And on the other it is claimed that the Soviet Union makes friends for ulterior motives. For political motives. What do you think about that?

[Kruglova] Claims that we are "politicizing" pure friendship are fashionable in the West. This is the sauce used to present attempts to replace genuine friendly relations with an official smiling mask. As for ulterior motives, we do indeed have them. But not those ascribed to us, of course. Our motive lies in pooling the efforts of the most diverse organizations to achieve lasting peace.

We realize that this motive is at variance with those of the people who profit politically and economically from the arms race, including the nuclear arms race, and from the stoking of international tension. Here good will comes up against fierce opposition from the above-mentioned circles. It is then that civil boldness becomes necessary in friendship. Let's be frank, in a number of countries it is unsafe for citizens to make friends with us: They can be dismissed, "blacklisted," or be the target of physical reprisals. In a state like Pakistan, for instance, the members of the friendship movement are imprisoned. But they are struggling for friendship. And it is this struggle which can become and is becoming the destiny and exploit of many people.

A campaign is under way in the West to clutter people's consciousness with all kinds of stories. Sometimes you are struck by the degree to which the ideas of people who visit us in the USSR are distorted. In our country they can see for themselves the falseness of the primitive anti-Soviet stereotypes foisted on them.

We are very glad to have guests who try to obtain objective information about the USSR, Z. M. Kruglova said in conclusion. And an increasing number are coming to our country and an increasing number of these are becoming our good friends.

CSO: 1807/18



WORLDWIDE TOPICS

TOLKUNOV DISCUSSES UN ANNIVERSARY AT IPU CONFERENCE

LD040834 Moscow TASS in English 0704 GMT 4 Sep 85

[Report by TASS correspondent A. Melikyan]

[Text] Ottawa September 4 TASS--TASS correspondent A. Melikyan reports:

The delegates to the current 74th conference of the Interparliamentary Union here have interrupted discussions in order to hold a celebration meeting marking the 40th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations Organisation.

Lev Tolkunov, chairman of the Parliamentary Group of the USSR, chairman of the Soviet of the Union of the USSR Supreme Soviet, speaking on behalf of socialist countries, emphasized that a considerable experience has been gained over the forty years of the existence of the UNO and that solid political and legal foundations of peaceful cooperation of states belonging to different social systems have been laid. Having pointed out the growing role of the UNO as the centre of joint action of all states, he said: "Realistically appraising the place of the United Nations Organisations in the system of international relations, one can state with good reason that the world body managed to make its positive contribution to the solution of many important international problems in those cases when states resorted to joint efforts for the attainment of the goals, acting strictly in accordance with the obligation they assumed under the UN Charter: to save the present and succeeding generations from the scourge of war."

Socialist countries, the Soviet parliamentarian went on to say, are principled opponents of a solution to international issues by means of force. We have always approached and continue to approach the UNO as an effective instrument of peace and are ready to take new steps for the just democratic principles, on which the world body was founded forty years ago, to become firmly established in the practice of international relations.

Having pointed out the threat of a nuclear disaster that has overhung mankind, the speaker drew attention to the fact that the Soviet Union and other socialist states are prepared to reach agreement not only on cessation of the arms race but also on the biggest cutbacks in armaments right up to general and complete disarmament. The UNO is faced with immense tasks. The



same tasks are also facing the Interparliamentary Union. The main thing for all of us is to get as far as possible from the verge of a nuclear abyss, to discuss and solve real problems of war and peace and of the development of peaceful cooperation among all peoples, he stated.

Benno Friesen (Canada), chairman of the conference, William Buffum, UN under-secretary general for political and General Assembly affairs, 'Abd al-'Aziz al-Sallami (PDRY), Mr. Soekardi (Indonesia) and others pointed out in their speeches that the UNO can and must play an increasing role in international life and that it is essential to strive for the implementation of the UN resolutions. They emphasised the need to pool efforts and step up the joint actions of states and peoples with a view to ending the arms race, to removing the war danger, and enhancing the prestige and role of the UNO in the strengthening of peace.

CSO: 1807/18

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SOVIET INFLUENCE ON WORLD POLITICAL SCIENCE CONGRESS LAUDED

PM261335 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Sep 85 First Edition p 4

[Article by Yu. Krasin, vice president of the Soviet Political Science Association, under the "Ideological Front" rubric: "Politics and the Responsibility of Scientists: Notes on the 13th World Congress of the International Political Science Association"]

[Text] The theme of the 13th World Congress of the International Political Science Association (IPSA) held in Paris this summer--"the changing state and its interaction with national and international society"--covers a broad range of problems. Political scientists of different political orientations from 40 countries held keen discussions on them during the plenary meetings and thematic sessions and in study committees and groups. Main attention was focused on the problems of maintaining peace, returning to the process of relaxing international tension, and ending the arms race and on disarmament problems.

The forum's entire work was clearly influenced by the Soviet Union's recent peace initiatives, which vividly demonstrate socialism's peace-loving nature. They have had an undoubted influence on the development of sociopolitical thought in all countries. This was expressed at the congress in the very atmosphere of the discussion. At previous meetings Western political scientists often took the line of propaganda myths about the "Soviet military threat," the "export of revolution," and "socialism's innate aggressiveness." This, of course, proved to be a diversion from constructive dialogue. Now, however, the tone and vocabulary of their reports have perceptibly changed. Attention to Soviet scientists' speeches increased. Even in the human rights study group no one wanted to use exasperating anti-Soviet cliches. It is indicative that, even though the written text of one U.S. professor's report contained the thesis of "communism's hostility to human rights," the author was forced to omit that from the verbal report delivered in an atmosphere of serious discussion of the real problems.

The congress showed that, despite sometimes profound ideological differences, there is among political science specialists a growing sense of responsibility for the international situation and for seeking ways to establish reliable foundations of durable peace. A number of reports by scientists from capitalist countries voiced sharp criticism of the U.S. administration's

foreign policy and of America's "star wars" plans, whose implementation is fueling an unrestrained arms race. The report by U.S. Professor M. Waters sharply condemned the U.S. intervention in Grenada. However, the justificatory speech delivered by U.S. State Department staffer Doctor (Mallé), who tried to praise the U.S. delegation's position at the Geneva talks, provoked a negative reaction from those taking part in the discussion and was excluded from the list of reports.

Quite a few useful ideas and suggestions were put forward on ways to resolve present-day global problems, above all the problem of preventing nuclear war. There was a discussion of measures for achieving the political solution of conflict situations, preventing "crisis confrontation," reducing the level of military confrontation, preventing the accidental beginning of nuclear conflict, and so forth. There was a useful exchange of opinions on global modeling, particularly on the "Globus" model for long-term forecasting of world development formulated by the International Scientific Center of West Berlin. After pointing out its shortcomings stemming from an underassessment of the socioclass content of the modern era, the Soviet participants in the discussion nevertheless noted the significance of global modeling in formulating an interdisciplinary approach to international problems and developing cooperation in resolving those problems among social scientists in socialist and capitalist countries. The program of the UN University (Tokyo) on the study of problems of peace and global transformation is also productive from this viewpoint.

Regional international problems, above all European problems, occupied a prominent place in the congress' work. The latter acquired particular topicality from the fact that the congress coincided with the 10th anniversary of the CSCE in Helsinki. There was a constant stream of visitors to a Soviet book exhibition, wanting to familiarize themselves with "Helsinki 10 Years On," the report of the Soviet Committee for European Security and Cooperation, which has been published in various foreign languages. The sessions held a businesslike discussion on improving the situation in Europe.

Problems of the development of Asian, African, and Latin American states and their role in international politics were discussed widely at the conference. In this context the limited nature of the political concepts current in the West, which largely ignore the exclusive specificity of the experience of developing countries, was noted. But the theme which was probably aired most forcefully was the burdensome consequences ensuing for young liberated countries from the arms race and the exacerbation of international tension. Against this backdrop, Soviet proposals for the convocation of a conference on security measures in Asia and the Far East were assessed positively.

Of course, the constructive nature of the discussions by no means blunted the edge of ideological contradictions. The class stances of bourgeois political scientists stood out clearly during the discussion of fundamental questions of international politics. Thus, while criticizing the U.S. administration's aggressive course, they sought at the same time to place "equal responsibility" for the tension in the world also on the Soviet Union. While refraining from crude anticommunist attacks on human rights, the speakers from

capitalist countries nonetheless tried to link democratic rights and freedoms exclusively with the Western bourgeois-liberal tradition.

Naturally, the Paris congress was characterized by ideological polemics between Marxists and bourgeois social scientists. Soviet representatives and scientists from other socialist countries, proceeding from Marxist positions, sought to reveal the true source of the war danger which has its origin in the aggressive nature of imperialism, to explain the peace-loving essence of the socialist foreign policy, and to uphold the need for a social and class analysis of the present system of international relations and its development trends. At the same time, they sought to conduct the polemics in such a way as not to hamper the achievement of mutual understanding in tackling the key problem of the present time--the problem of preserving peace and life on our planet.

The congress also shed light on the main weaknesses of bourgeois political science in studying the present-day state. These consist above all in its nonclass approach. The state is viewed as an "arbiter" standing above society, as an expression of some kind of "common will." Taking this approach, the center of gravity is shifted from studies of the essence of state power to studies of its formal structure and the forms of its activity. At the same time, the profound crisis of the so-called "welfare state" is impelling bourgeois political thought toward a quest for new strategic ideas and concepts, above all the idea of a strong modernized state. It reflects the desire of the most conservative monopoly capital forces to strengthen their influence and curtail the working people's social rights under the guise of the policy of "technological rationalism" which allegedly stems from the needs of the scientific and technical revolution.

Certain changes were also evident in the tone of the polemics on the subject of the socialist state. The speeches of Western professors did, of course, contain the usual range of bourgeois evaluations of the socialist state: "excessive centralism which paralyzes society," "the party's monopoly of power," "the confrontation between the state and the individual," and so forth. However, this time the Sovietologists' behavior was marked by diffidence. They frankly admitted to being greatly impressed by the bold decisions of the CPSU leadership and the measures to accelerate socio-economic development and scientific and technical progress. Despite pessimistic forecasts, the socialist system is displaying great dynamism.

Bourgeois Sovietologists placed their main emphasis on attempts to substantiate a differentiated approach to socialist countries. American Professor D. Hazard, for example, did not disguise the fact that he is counting on the development of trends of private enterprise, "privatization" of the economy, and so forth in certain socialist states.

The reports and speeches delivered by Soviet scholars and their colleagues from socialist community countries provided a wide panorama of the development of the socialist state system and democracy. Marxist scholars showed convincingly that the process of building the new society is irreversible and that, for all its diversity, it is proceeding in a common direction--toward



consolidating and improving the foundations of socialism and communist civilization.

The Paris congress showed that a shift is occurring in IPSA activity away from purely state topics toward an interpretation of wider political processes on a national scale and, in particular, in the world arena. Questions of the theory of politics and the methodology of political thought are acquiring increasing significance. This increases the scope for Marxist influence on the development of sociopolitical thought in the nonsocialist world, since a scientific, materialist theory of politics has long provided the basis and framework of Marxism.

It was generally recognized that the Marxist political thought group set up at the 11th IPSA Congress in Moscow in 1979 had carried out much work. It has now become a permanent form of cooperation between Marxist scholars and progressive social scientists in capitalist and developing countries. In Paris the group held a session on the theme of "The Role of the Masses in World Politics," which provoked a positive response and showed the growing prestige of Soviet science and Marxist methodology among foreign scholars.

The work of enhancing the influence of Marxist theory in the IPSA's research subunits can and must be continued. A lot here depends on the scale and depth of the political science research carried out in our country and on the involvement in it of a broader range of specialists. The Soviet Socio Science Association must step up the study of key problems in the theory of politics as a branch of social knowledge. The CPSU and Soviet Government's domestic and foreign policy and the practice of socialism provide very rich material for the creative development of Marxist political science.

CSO: 1807/18



WORLDWIDE TOPICS

UNESCO COMMUNICATIONS COUNCIL DISCUSSES MASS MEDIA

PM181028 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 16 Sep 85 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent dispatch: "Information at the Service of Progress"]

[Text] Paris--A session of the Presidium of the Intergovernmental Council of the International Program for the Development of Communications (IPDC), which comprises representatives of a number of countries, including the Soviet Union, has been held at UNESCO headquarters.

The session summed up the results of the activity of the IPDC, which was set up by UNESCO in 1980 with a view to mobilizing means for the creation of national information systems in the developing countries and restructuring the system of the international exchange of information on a democratic basis. The presidium ratified the report on the IPDC's activity. It will be presented for examination by the next session of the UNESCO General Conference, which will be held in Sofia in October 1985.

The report notes that the IPDC has gained widespread support from the developing countries. Particular attention is devoted to the development of national mass media, the training of specialists, and interregional and regional projects such as the PAN-AFRICAN NEWS AGENCY (PANA), the Arab States' Radio Broadcasting Union, and others. The IPDC's new projects--and there are more than 50 of them--include providing assistance in the activity of news agencies, periodicals, radio and television, book publishing, and the training of national cadres in Vietnam, India, Mali, Senegal, Togo, Malaysia, Nepal, Tunisia, and other countries.

The Soviet Union continues to participate actively in the IPDC's work. Our country organizes further training courses for journalists from the developing countries.

The presidium session also examined the question of continuing the research devoted to studying mass media worldwide.

CSO: 1807/18

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### SOVIET POSITION IN WHALING CONTROVERSY EXPLAINED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, 17 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by Candidate of Biological Sciences M. Ivashin, member of the scientific committee of the International Whaling Commission (IWC)]

[Text] In our country a great deal is being done for protection of the environment, the plant world and the animal kingdom. What is the USSR's position in this plan in connection with the whaling industry? In what way does it differ from the American one? N. Kostenko, Leningrad.

The whaling industry has existed from time immemorial. In the past, thousands and thousands of whales have been harvested not far from the shore. But with the appearance of modern flotillas it has become considerably more difficult to control the numbers of whales. The whalers of Norway, the United States and other capitalist countries have depleted the reserves of the easily accessible and economically more profitable kinds of animals. As a matter of fact, the world harvest of whales during the period from 1910 to 1940 increased from 12,000 to 40,000-44,000 per year and it reached 51,000-55,000 during individual seasons.

In 1933 our country began harvesting whales in the waters of the northern part of the Pacific Ocean and since the 1946-47 season in the Antarctic.

Following the Second World War (in December, 1946), a new international convention, which remains in force until the present, was developed for regulation of the whaling industry. The Soviet Union participated in its preparation. In 1948, the International Whaling Commission (MKK) was approved in accordance with this document. It called for involvement with conserving and increasing whale reserves, scientifically sound regulation of the industry, as well as the efficient use of animals in all water areas of the world's oceans.

The scientific committee, which consists of well-known scientists and specialists from the USSR, the United States, Japan, Great Britain, Norway and other countries, operates within the framework of the IWC. Its operation makes it possible to exploit reserves in an optimum manner and simultaneously to ensure their constant restoration. During the course of a season, it's authorized to take the quantity of whales that is subsequently replenished from among the

number of newly born individuals and with regard to their natural death, i. e. it doesn't cause damage to the whale reserves.

However, beginning annually since 1972, the U. S. delegation to the IWC has raised a question about discontinuing the whaling industry, while attempting to achieve dissemination of its own domestic law (in 1972 in the U. S. a moratorium on harvesting the giants of the world's oceans was approved, although aboriginal industry was retained, i. e. local inhabitants were allowed to hunt whales for maintaining their own livelihood, but not for commercial purposes) to this organization. The scientific committee of the IWC has examined the question of discontinuing the whaling industry many times and rejected the proposal on introducing a moratorium as scientifically unsound.

An increase in the number of supporters of the American policy to ban the whaling industry (countries, not its leading ones, have joined the IWC under U. S. pressure and since 1977 their number has increased from 17 to 41) led to making decisions of a discriminatory nature that contradict the position of the 1946 convention. At the 34th session of the IWC (July, 1982) the U. S. delegation, having used the voting machinery, imposed a proposal on discontinuing the commercial whaling industry in the world's oceans following the 1985 season, in spite of the fact that it contradicts reliable data on estimating the numbers of whales.

Representatives of the USSR, as well as of Japan and Norway, didn't concur with such an unjustifiable and discriminatory decision and, in accordance with the procedure that was provided for in the convention, they made an objection to the IWC secretariat regarding the fact that the moratorium doesn't assume mandatory force for them.

The Soviet Union shares striving for the conservation and restoration of the reserves of these giants in the world's oceans because this is a national principle of our ecological policy. A special ukase of the USSR Presidium of the Supreme Soviet dated 28 February 1984 regulates the protection of whales and other maritime resources within the limits of the USSR's economic zone.

At the 37th session that was held in July, 1985, our delegation informed the IWC about the decision of the Soviet government to suspend industrial harvesting of whales in the Antarctic beginning with the 1987-88 season. Prior to this time (i. e. during the 1985-86 and 1986-87 seasons) the whaling industry will be conducted by us in accordance with the recommendations of the IWC scientific committee.

Thus, we'll sum up: our country adheres to the principle of conducting a balanced industry, when measures for protecting animals are combined with the efficient harvesting of those species, the numbers of which make it possible to do this on a strictly scientific basis and under effective international supervision.

9889

CSO: 1807/15

## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### OLYMPIC COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN SPEAKS ON GAMES VENUE

LD071402 Moscow TASS in English 1308 GMT 7 Sep 85

[Text] Moscow September 7 TASS--The chairman of the Sports Committee and the National Olympic Committee of the USSR, Marat Gramov, today met the participants in an international seminar of sportswriters held within the framework of the "Olympic Solidarity" programme of the International Olympic Committee.

In his speech, Gramov stressed that the situation in the international sports and the Olympic movement depends to a large extent on the work of journalists covering different sports events.

He also spoke about the development of physical culture in the USSR and the attention given to the harmonious development of Soviet people.

"A draft state law, a programme of physical culture in the USSR embracing people of all ages and all walks of life, has been prepared now," Gramov said. "We set the goal of 90 percent of studying youth and 70 percent of working people spending from eight to ten hours a week on sports activities by the year 1990."

The chairman of the USSR Sports Committee and the National Olympic Committee noted that the USSR would host major competitions next July, the "Goodwill Games", with world's top sportsmen participating.

Dwelling on international contacts, Gramov said that the USSR and the USA would sign an agreement on sport cooperation in Indianapolis, USA, next July. A similar document with the People's Republic of China [is] being prepared.

Speaking on the forthcoming Olympic Games, the top Soviet sports official stressed that the International Olympic Committee should more seriously approach the question of choosing venues for future Olympics.

Gramov answered questions put by the journalists, participating in the seminar, who came to Moscow from 45 countries.

President of the International Sporting Press Association (AIPS), Frank Taylor of Great Britain, thanked on behalf of the participants in the

seminar the USSR Sports Committee for the excellent organisation of the journalists' seminar and highly appraised the discussions held on the problems of world sports.

The participants in the seminar were unanimous that sport should bring peoples closer together and serve the cause of stronger world peace. The duty of journalists is not only to supply coverage on competitions but also to educate the reader giving a rebuff to professionalism, commercialism, apartheid and other phenomena alien to the ideals of sports.

CSO: 1807/18



WORLDWIDE TOPICS

NEW INTERNATIONAL MINERS' ORGANIZATION ESTABLISHED

Conference Opens

PM251043 Moscow TRUD in Russian 22 Sep 85 p 3

[Report by TASS correspondent O. Karasev "specially for TRUD": "Following the Path of Unity"]

[Text] Paris, 21 Sep--They met to publicly declare their adherence to the ideas of the unity of the world trade union movement. They are the participants in the inaugural congress of the International Miners' Organization--miners' unions' delegations from more than 30 countries--which opened today.

Leaders of miners' trade union organizations in Britain and Chile, Poland and India, the FRG and Benin, Portugal and Guinea, Vietnam and Ethiopia, and other socialist, developing, and capitalist states have assembled at the headquarters of the French General Confederation of Labor (CGT). Soviet miners are represented by a Coal Industry Workers Trade Union delegation headed by M. A. Srebnyy, chairman of its Central Committee.

"The decision to set up an international miners' organization independent of the large world trade union centers was approved in principle in 1983," Augustin Dufresne, secretary general of the CGT-affiliated French National Federation of Miners, said. "Our federation, in conjunction with the British National Union of Mineworkers, initiated the creation of the International Miners' Organization with its headquarters in Paris."

"Our inaugural congress marks an extremely important stage in the life of the world miners' trade union movement," A. Dufresne said. "Its aim--to unite miners' trade unions in one organization--is extremely topical. The internationalization of mining production and the policy of transnational corporations affect our trade as a whole. We are glad that this initiative has met with such a broad response."

The observers at the congress include a delegation from the International Association of Miners' and Power Workers' Trade Unions, which is affiliated to the WFTU.

LD231235 Moscow TASS in English 1210 GMT 23 Sep 85

[Report by TASS correspondent Oleg Karasyov]

[Text] Paris September 23 TASS--TASS correspondent Oleg Karasyov reports: The leaders of miners' trade unions from 32 socialist, developing and capitalist countries, concluding a constituent convention here, have set up an International Miners' Union (IMU).

Speaking at a news conference, its chairman, Arthur Scargill, leader of Britain's National Union of Mineworkers, stressed the significance of the newly-founded organization to making the trade union movement more united.

He said the IMU currently had a membership of 3.8 million and the mine-workers' unions of another ten countries are also contemplating joining it.

The convention endorsed the organization's rules and charter as well as a number of resolutions on various problems.

The charter defines the IMU's goal as defending the miners' social and economic rights, enhancing international solidarity and campaigning for peace and disarmament.

The delegates expressed deep anxiety over U.S. dangerous plans to militarize outer space. The convention suggested holding an international conference of miners and power workers for peace and disarmament in 1986 or 1987.

In other resolutions the attendees declared their solidarity with the mine-workers' struggles in South Africa and Chile and came out against the sway of transnational corporations.

The convention elected the IMU's steering bodies.

The organization's Executive Bureau consists, apart from its chairman, of two vice-chairmen (they are Mikhail Srebny, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Mineworkers of the USSR who led the Soviet delegation to the convention, and Australian representative Mr Swan), Secretary-General Alain Simon of France and two secretaries who will be elected later.

Simon said in a TASS interview that the IMU's formation meets the miners' striving for unity. He singled out efforts to expose the baneful policies of transnationals and help establish a new economic order along with concrete sympathy actions in solidarity with miners' struggles for their rights as well as campaigns for peace and disarmament among the more important immediate activities of the IMU.

PM251333 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Sep 85 p 3

[TASS correspondent O. Karasev dispatch "specially for TRUD" under the "International Workers Movement" rubric: "In the Interests of Unity: New International Miners' Trade Union Organization Founded"]

[Text] Paris, 23 Sep--The International Miners' Organization (IMO) was founded in Paris on Sunday, initially bringing together 3.8 million miners belonging to trade union organizations in 32 socialist, developing, and capitalist countries on all continents.

The foundation of a single miners' organization is the result of a consistent struggle waged by force in favor of uniting the trade union movement. To appreciate the significance of this fact, it is necessary, as Arthur Scargill, elected president of the new organization, reminded people at a press conference, to look back over 40 years of trade union movement history. Only then is it possible to assess the full significance of the first-ever unity of miners' trade unions to be achieved in this period. In conversation with me Barry Swan (Australia), vice president of the new organization, spoke highly of the role of the trade unions of the USSR and the other socialist countries in achieving this unity.

The newly created organization includes trade unions belonging to various international bodies, as well as independent ones. A. Scargill reported that miners' trade unions in a further 10 countries were considering the possibility of joining the new organization.

The congress participants approved the organization's Rules and Charter and a number of resolutions on various problems. As the rules stress, the IMO's aim is to defend miners' socioeconomic interests and develop their international solidarity and their struggle for peace and disarmament. The charter clearly formulates the miners' demands for which the IMO intends to fight. These include the establishment of fundamental trade union rights and freedoms, demands affecting work safety and the protection of working people's health, and others. The charter also enshrines demands directed against the rapacious activity of transnational corporations and speaks of the importance of the struggle for peace, disarmament, and the conversion of the arms industry to peaceful purposes.

In a special resolution on the peace and disarmament struggle congress participants expressed deep concern at America's dangerous plans to militarize outer space. During its discussion representatives of various countries stressed that U.S. imperialist policy runs counter to working people's vital interests. Speakers supported Soviet peace initiatives, in particular, the introduction of a moratorium on nuclear explosions and the USSR's persistent struggle against the militarization of outer space. The congress recommended that the IMO develop effective activity to increase miners' participation in the peace and disarmament struggle.

"Our organization," Alain Simon (France), its elected general secretary, told me, "intends to give paramount attention to the problems of defending peace. Miners have always traditionally been in the forefront of the peace and disarmament struggle. International miners' conferences on problems of peace and disarmament were held in Newcastle in 1981 and in Moscow in 1983. We must base ourselves on their decisions."

"The expression of effective solidarity with our struggling comrades," he stressed, "is also to be another very important goal." It is not fortuitous that the congress considered it necessary to adopt individual resolutions on these questions. The congress participants unanimously condemned the introduction of a state of emergency in South Africa, the South African military's invasion of neighboring states' territory, and the maintenance of the apartheid regime.

The congress elected the IMO's leading bodies.

The IMO's headquarters will be in Paris.

CSO: 1807/18

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

SEPTEMBER 1985 CORRESPONDENTS' ASSIGNMENTS ABROAD

Moscow ZHURNALIST in Russian No 9, Sep 85 p 49

[Unattributed item under the rubric "Official Department": "Appointments"]

[Excerpts] Oleg Ivanovich Teterin is confirmed as APN bureau chief in Uganda. He was born in 1942. He graduated from the Moscow University Institute of Asian and African Countries. He has worked at APN since 1973. He was an editor, responsible secretary of the Unified Editorial Office for African Countries, editor-consultant of the Main Editorial Office for Africa, editor-consultant of the Unified Editorial Office for Topical African Countries, and APN bureau chief in Tanzania. Since 1983 he has been editor-consultant of the Main Editorial Office for the Near and Middle East and Africa. He is a candidate of historical sciences.

Yuriy Konstantinovich Tyssovski is confirmed as TASS office chief in Bulgaria. He was born in 1931. He graduated from the Moscow University Institute of Asian and African Countries. He has worked for TASS since 1963. He was an editor and chief of the TASS office in Egypt, editor of the TASS correspondents' point in Syria, agency correspondent in Libya, deputy chief of the Editorial Office for Eastern Countries of the TASS Main Editorial Office for Foreign Information, and a correspondent of the TASS office in Afghanistan. Since 1984 he has been deputy chief of the Press Bureau Editorial Office of the TASS Main Editorial Office for Foreign Information.

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CSO: 1807/53



## WORLDWIDE TOPICS

### BOOK ON LESSONS OF WORLD WAR II REVIEWED

PM261501 [Editorial Report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 September 1985 Second Edition carries on page 4 under the rubric "Criticism and Bibliography" and the headline "The Results and Lessons of World War II" a 2,200-word review by Army General M. Kozlov on "World War II. Results and Lessons", published by the Military Literature Publishing House, 1985. Compiled in cooperation with the USSR Defense Ministry Institute of Military History, the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and the USSR Academy of Sciences Institutes of General History and History of the USSR by a team of authors comprising prominent Soviet military historians and experts under the leadership of a main editorial commission headed by USSR Defense Minister Marshal of the Soviet Union S. L. Sokolov, the book is "a scientific study of the fundamental questions of the history and theory of World War II," with the main emphasis on the Soviet people's struggle against fascism, although developments in other theaters of military operations are also analyzed. According to the reviewer the book stresses that the German-Soviet front was the main front of the war from beginning to end. Much space is devoted to depicting the CPSU's policy in action. The "superiority of Soviet military art" over that of the fascist bloc is emphasized.

On the book's conclusions as to the "lessons" of the war, the reviewer states:

"The final section of the book entitled 'The War's Lessons and the Present Time' is devoted to the main problems of the postwar years, the influence of the results of the war on the changes in the correlation of forces in the world in favor of socialism, the establishment of the world socialist system and its transformation into a decisive factor in historical development, and the significance of the victory over fascism and militarism for the world revolutionary process and the solution of the fundamental socioeconomic and political problems of the present time.

"The great victory over German fascism and Japanese militarism, the book emphasizes, taught aggressors a firm lesson. It showed that there is no force in the world capable of reversing the course of history and stemming the powerful flow of revolutionary transformations

initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution. All bellicose imperialism's attempts to settle the historical dispute between the two social systems by military means are inevitably doomed to failure. Imperialism not only failed to achieve its hegemonist goal of destroying socialism in the war, it even lost some of its prewar positions. This is one of the main lessons of World War II.

"The book's final chapter, 'the Main Problem of the Present Time is Preserving Peace and Averting Nuclear War,' emphasizes that the generalization of the experience of World War II and the lessons which it furnishes are by no means academic. They are extremely topical. There is always a link between the past, the present, and the future. The present situation, in which U.S.-led imperialism unleashed a frenzied attack on the cause of peace, detente, and disarmament, is promoting all peoples to counter the reactionary forces' aggressive intrigues with a tireless struggle for peace and for curbing the arms race. It is necessary to fight against war before it has started. Forces capable of averting war exist today. The community of socialist countries is marching in their vanguard.

"The preservation of peace was and remains the supreme goal of the Communist Party and the Soviet State.

"The experience and lessons of World War II teach us that it is necessary to expose the aggressive intrigues of imperialism, to counter its dangerous actions, and to wage an active struggle against the ideology of war and against anticommunism and anti-sovietism. V. I. Lenin's advice that we must resolutely expose every kind of "sophistry used to justify war" is more topical today than ever before.

"The lessons of World War II teach the peace champions to exercise political farsightedness, social activeness, determination, and vigilance. The struggle for detente, disarmament, and peaceful development and vigilance against imperialist intrigues means that we now have to strengthen the economic and defense might of the Soviet Union and the other socialist community countries in every way. You cannot beg imperialists for peace. Peace can be upheld only by relying on the invincible might of the Soviet Armed Forces, the armies of the Warsaw Pact member states, and all the planet's peace-loving forces.

"The book "World War II. Results and Lessons" is distinguished by its strict class approach to the events and phenomena of World War II and the social life of countries and peoples before and after the war, by their profound evaluation in the party spirit, and by its strict scientific approach and objectivity."

WORLDWIDE TOPICS

BRIEFS

AIR POLLUTION DOCUMENT--Moscow August 27 TASS--A document on the acceptance by the Government of the USSR of the protocol to the 1979 convention on transborder air pollution to big distances as pertains to the long-term financing of the joint program for the monitoring and evaluation of the spread of air pollutants to big distances in Europe was deposited with the United Nations secretary general. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1538 GMT 27 Aug 85 LD]

LITERARY CONGRESS IN ALMA-ATA--The 9th Congress of the International Association of Literary Critics ended its work in Alma-Ata today. Writers, critics, and literature specialists from France, Japan, Czechoslovakia, Poland, the USSR, and many other countries took part in it. They discussed a number of topical problems and devoted a great deal of attention to the role of literature in the defense of peace on earth. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1130 GMT 28 Sep 85 LD]

INTERNATIONAL MARITIME CONFERENCE--Odessa August 29 TASS--An international seminar on ports, security, prevention of pollution, and clean-up of water area ended in this Black Sea port today. It was sponsored by the UN International Maritime Organization (IMO) for the port specialists of developing countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Specialists from more than 60 states studied the Soviet experience of work in Black Sea ports. Apart from Odessa, they visited Ilyichovsk, Novorossisk, the International Communications Satellite Centre and nautical schools. This meeting was the most representative ever held by the organization I represent, Captain Eftimios Mitropoulos, seminar director, said to a TASS correspondent. The Soviet experience, so generously shared by Soviet seamen and port specialists with their colleagues from developing countries, will help further strengthen international maritime cooperation, he said. [Text] [Moscow TASS in English 1650 GMT 29 Aug 85 LD]

CSO: 1807/18

RL/RFE BROADCASTS SAID TO VIOLATE TREATIES

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 38, 17 Sep 85 p 5

[Article: "Subversive 'Voices' and International Law"]

[Text] The question concerning the incompatibility of activities of the subversive RADIO LIBERTY (RS) and RADIO FREE EUROPE (RSE) radio stations with current international legal norms was thoroughly examined by the West German lawyer E. Hofman. In his research it's emphasized that these radio stations are operating under U. S. management and on the territory of the FRG, and they're not carrying truthful information.

It says in the "declaration on principles of international law that apply to friendly relations and cooperation between sovereign states in accordance with the OON [United Nations] Charter (Resolution No. 2625/25 of 24 October 1970)," which was adopted unanimously at the 25th session of the UN General Assembly: "Not one sovereign state or a group of states has the right to interfere directly or indirectly for any reason whatsoever in the internal and foreign affairs of another state."

The sixth principle of the "declaration of principles" that was adopted at the Helsinki conference on security and cooperation in Europe reads: "The participating states will refrain from any interference, direct or indirect, individual or collective, in domestic or foreign affairs that are included in the internal competency of any participating state, irrespective of their mutual relation."

RL and RFE activities grossly violate these norms because they are plainly motivated by the task to create oppositional attitudes in a number of countries and thereby to generate internal instability in them.<sup>1</sup>

In the "Dictionary of International Law" published in the FRG, we read: "Hostile propaganda from abroad is a violation of international law in accordance with the practice of sovereign states and the almost unanimous theory in this regard."

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<sup>1</sup> S. Beglov, "Foreign Policy Propaganda," Moscow, VYSSHAYA SHKOLA, 1984.



Thus, the states that bear responsibility for RL and RFE activities are grossly violating both the norms of international law and the UN Charter.

RL and RFE activities are incompatible as well with the bilateral treaties and agreements that were entered upon by the U. S. and the FRG with socialist countries and against whom the activities of the radio stations are directed.<sup>1</sup>

"Differences in the ideology and social systems of the USSR and the U. S.," it says in the joint document "Bases of Mutual Relations Between the USSR and the U. S." of 29 May 1972, "are not an obstacle to the development between them of normal relations that are based on the principles of sovereignty, equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual benefit."

The signature of an American president stands at the bottom of this document. While continuing to direct and fund the subversive activities of RL and RFE against the USSR and other socialist countries, the U. S. is by no means displaying allegiance to the pledges to which it committed itself.

There also exists the norm that was agreed upon earlier on this score in relations between the U. S. and the USSR, and which was stated in an exchange of letters between them at the time diplomatic relations were established in 1933.

The FRG entered well-known bilateral agreements with the USSR, PNR [Polish People's Republic] and CSSR in which it committed itself to build relations with these countries on the basis of the goals and principles of the UN Charter.

Inasmuch as the "general norms of international law are a component part of the law of the Federation" (Article 25 of the FRG Basic Law), and the activities of RL and RFE contradict the norms of international law, then, consequently, it also contradicts the FRG Constitution as well.

Quite a number of other agreements, particularly in the area of international communications and among them is the convention on using broadcasting in the interests of peace (1936), can be added to this list of norms that are violated by the organizers of these radio sabotage channels.<sup>1</sup>

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CSO: 1807/15



## SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

### CEMA: ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION PROBLEMS

Kiev EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 70-75

[Article by N. Tulukova: "The CEMA Countries: Experience and Problems of Cooperation in Protection and Reproduction of the Environment"]

[Text] Integrated interaction of countries in the socialist fraternity in the economic sphere is gradually acquiring the typical traits and characteristics of "intensive production and scientific-technical cooperation,"<sup>1</sup> which means, as was noted at the June (1983) CPSU Central Committee Plenum, a transition to "a qualitatively new level of economic integration." Combination of the goals of intensifying expanded reproduction in the CEMA countries with integrated cooperation among them brings on new problems. As was emphasized in the Declaration of the Economic Summit Conference of the CEMA Countries, held 13-14 June 1984 in Moscow, all activities of CEMA organs "must promote mobilization of the capabilities of the countries and reinforcement of their mutual cooperation for the purposes of dynamic and harmonious development of the economy of each country and of the entire fraternity of CEMA countries, on the basis of comprehensive intensification of production and introduction of the world accomplishments of scientific-technical progress...."<sup>2</sup> Raising the socioeconomic effectiveness of social production, as adjusted on the basis of the ecological criterion, should be included among the most important of these problems.

Integrated cooperation among CEMA countries, which is characterized by numerous aspects and many levels, is having a direct influence by strengthening the ties among them in their efforts to develop social production, ecology, socialist civilization and nature. In this case the natural environment represents a unity of two necessary prerequisites of man's existence: his habitat, and an object of labor. Materials obtained from nature serve as the raw materials of material production. Karl Marx pointed out that "nature is as much a source of consumer valuables (and they are, after all, the basis of material wealth!) as is labor, which is itself only a manifestation of one of the forces of nature, of the human work force."<sup>3</sup>

Long-range socioeconomic development typical of socialism requires establishment and systematic maintenance of stable mutual relationships between the economic and nature conservation activities of society, including measures to prevent depletion of natural resources. This requirement is basic to observing the proportions between economic development and the natural

resources consumed for this purpose. It is also basic to a thrifty, careful relationship to the natural component as a whole. The importance of solving these problems cannot be overstated.<sup>4</sup>

The general economic aspects of the limited nature and nonrenewability of natural resources, and of restoring the natural environment are of the greatest interest during this time of development of multifaceted international cooperation, the significance of which is growing immeasurably in the course of all-out intensification.

#### Experience and Features of Organizing Cooperation Among CEMA Countries in Environmental Protection

Ecological problems are a reflection of the interaction between man and nature existing as dialectically unique and concurrently opposing elements. The contradictions between them began to be radically resolved only with growth of socialist collectivization of labor and production, with growth in equipment availability, with an increase in the scale of economic activity and of the multiplicity of economic ties, with deepening and expansion of international socialist division of labor, and with development of socialist economic integration.

Were we to adopt Marx' division of natural conditions into "resources of labor" and "resources of life," then in the modern world economy the "resources of life" are changed by the influence of anthropogenic pollution of the biosphere, while consumption of natural "resources of labor" collides at an increasing degree with the scarcity of these resources, and it requires constantly growing social outlays. This is why the role of collective development and joint implementation of major measures for sensible use of natural resources is intensifying under socialism.

Sensible use of natural resources is defined as the creative activity of people involving measures for integrated transformation of nature with the purpose of preserving unique territories and improving the natural properties of natural landscapes through land reclamation, reforestation, alteration of the water network and so on.

In recent years the CEMA countries have been devoting increasingly greater attention to the problems of reproducing the natural environment. This activity is proceeding in two basic directions: restoration of primary resources (planting forests, raising fish, seeking and exploring new mineral deposits and so on) and utilization of secondary resources (utilization of wastes, recultivation of land, regeneration of water resources and so on). The systems of nature conservation measures presently operating in the CEMA countries are aimed more at achieving the possibilities of the first direction, and not enough at multiplying the "natural part" of the resources balance. And yet, making increasingly wider use of secondary resources is precisely the more effective way of restoring the natural base of man's vital activities.

Restoration and maintenance of ecological harmony in countries of the socialist fraternity presupposes wide use of the resources, methods, tools and possibilities of economic integration of CEMA countries with the purpose of achieving

the required dynamic equilibrium in the "man-society-production-consumption-nature" system.

Organized, consistent and planned multilateral cooperation among CEMA countries in environmental protection, which began in 1964, was preceded by bilateral interaction among these countries.<sup>5</sup> This form of cooperation makes use of specific organizational and economic methods and specific forms of agreements. Thus cooperation between the USSR and Bulgaria is based on an interdepartmental agreement between the USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Bulgarian State Committee for Science and Technical Progress, with the work being coordinated by the State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control in the USSR and by the Committee for Nature Protection in Bulgaria. A similar agreement was signed and is now in force between the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology and Environmental Control and the Hungarian State Department for Protection of the Environment and Nature. The USSR State Committee for Science and Technology and the Czechoslovak SSR Federal Ministry of Development of Technology and Capital Construction signed the Program of Scientific-Technical Cooperation in Environmental Protection and Sensible Use of Natural Resources in 1981-1985.

Bilateral cooperation in environmental protection centered on protecting natural features serving as borders has been carried on by interested CEMA countries since the 1950s. For example a number of socialist countries of Europe have been working on the problems of controlling discharge of the waters of the Danube since the mid-1950s. Another example of such interaction is the activities of the Polish-Hungarian Khaldeks Shareholders Society organized in 1959. It produces coal and raw materials (for cement and ceramic industry) out of coal waste dumps located on Polish territory. By producing useful products, Khaldeks enterprises also insure complete recycling of coal waste dumps, which promotes improvement of the environment in coal basins. In late 1983 the Hungarian-Czechoslovak Khaldeks-Ostrava joint enterprise began processing coal wastes in the Ostrava coal basin. Rock remaining after coal extraction should be used for production of cement, bricks and roofing tile.

Creation of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Coordination of Scientific and Technical Research in the mid-1960s initiated multilateral cooperation among CEMA countries in nature conservation activities. It was reorganized in 1971 as the CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation by a decision of the 25th CEMA Session (July 1971). As one of its first acts this permanent commission coordinated seven scientific-technical topics in the problem "Protection of Water and Air Basins from Pollution by Toxic Substances." This problem was included in the Summary Plan for Coordination of the Most Important Scientific and Technical Research of CEMA Countries in 1967-1970.

An agreement on scientific-technical cooperation on the problem "Development of Nature Protection Measures" was signed at the 25th CEMA Session. Research in this area focused on the following most important problems: protection of the air basin from pollution; processing of industrial and domestic wastes; hygienic, organizational, legal, socioeconomic and educational aspects of nature protection. Many CEMA permanent commissions and a number of scientific research institutions took part in this research. A council of authorized



representatives of the agreement's participants was approved. The council exercised overall leadership over the work and dealt with the main problems associated with fulfilling the agreement in general.

In November 1972 the CEMA Committee for Scientific-Technical Cooperation formed its own permanent working organ--the Council for Problems of Protection and Improvement of the Environment; in 1973 this council was instructed to develop a general expanded program of cooperation among CEMA countries and Yugoslavia in the period to 1980 in the area of protecting and improving the environment, and for the associated sensible use of natural resources. In 1974 the CEMA Executive Committee adopted this program. Its implementation marked a transition from an isolated sector approach to developing nature protection measures, to integrated national economic planning of measures with regard for the interests of countries in the fraternity. Introduction of the optimization period insured a high scientific-technical and production level for developments achieved on the basis of the advantages of international socialist division of labor and of socialist economic integration.

Fifteen CEMA organs, eight coordination centers and two international economic organizations interacted during implementation of the first general expanded program.<sup>6</sup> Over 650 scientific research, planning and design organizations of the CEMA countries took part in the cooperative effort. Participants in implementing the measures of the program included 92 corresponding organizations from Bulgaria, 82 from Hungary, 86 from East Germany, 6 from Cuba, 4 from Mongolia, 88 from Poland, 36 from Romania, over 100 from the USSR, 98 from Czechoslovakia and 18 from Yugoslavia.<sup>7</sup>

The general expanded program foresaw both general theoretical and exploratory research, study of the socioeconomic, educational, organizational and legal aspects of environmental protection, and developments of an applied nature on one hand, and improvement of existing production processes and creation of new processes excluding or significantly reducing discharges of toxic substances into water basins, the atmosphere and soil, and protection of the environment in cities and major population centers against motor vehicle exhausts. The research also addressed development of new closed low-waste production processes, the fight against noise and vibrations, radiation safety, decontamination and utilization of domestic, industrial, agricultural and other wastes, development of the basic directions of planning cities and their suburban zones, and developing settlement systems accounting for environmental protection and improvement. The program also foresaw cooperation in protection of the subsoil and sensible use of natural resources.

The committee organizes work in the support of the program by way of seven councils of officials in charge of the activities of coordination centers, and by way of the main organizations on the research topics and 14 permanent CEMA sector commissions and their working organs. As of the early 1980s about 2,000 scientific research, planning and design projects were completed, of which about 750 were introduced into production or utilized in practice in the form of procedures, unified methods, standards, handbooks, dictionaries and so on.<sup>8</sup> Thus new methods were created for treating liquid wastes and harmful industrial exhausts, measuring instruments to monitor atmospheric pollution and

so on. As an example a procedure for intensive biological treatment of water containing a high concentration of nitrogenous and organic components was introduced at a number of nitrogen industry enterprises with an annual economic impact of 5 million rubles.<sup>9</sup> The role of exchanging experience between CEMA countries in protection and reproduction of the environment is increasing in modern conditions. Thus the experience of developing and implementing nature conservation measures in different geographical zones of the Soviet Union has acquired international significance. As an example in the moderate zone, the role of man's economic activities in evolution of modern ecosystems was evaluated in relation to the steppes of the Ukraine. This assessment led to specific proposals for improving and protecting natural steppe vegetation, which are applicable in other CEMA countries as well. Procedures for improving the surface and root layer of natural feedlands of the Donetsk Basin using perennial feed plants of local and introduced species and forms were developed and introduced. This experience can be utilized in socialist countries possessing sizable coal waste dumps.

The City Committee for Cooperation in Material-Technical Supply, created in accordance with a decision of the 28th CEMA Session (June 1974), is working on important problems concerned with utilization of production wastes and secondary raw materials. In order to systematize wastes formed during production and consumption and to maximize their recycling in the national economy, the committee prepared and approved the "Technology and Classification of Production and Consumption Wastes."<sup>10</sup>

The committee's experts studied sources of production and consumption wastes (the corresponding procedures were adopted by the committee's sixth meeting in 1977 in Berlin) and developed sensible methods of their collection and transportation (the procedures were adopted during the ninth meeting of the group of experts in 1978 in Bucharest).

In addition standard production processes are being developed and effective forms of equipment for reprocessing wastes are being determined. In particular the CEMA countries are working on 36 subtopics pertaining to certain forms of secondary raw materials and the specific procedures for their processing; this includes one topic in Bulgaria, three in Hungary, 18 in East Germany, eight in Poland, three in the USSR and three in Czechoslovakia. This work will result in preparation of technical documents, production procedures or a production process.

#### Problems of Integrated Interaction Among CEMA Countries in Protection and Reproduction of the Environment

"Development of Nature Protection Measures" occupies a prominent place on the list of the main scientific-technical problems subject to joint development using the most effective forms of cooperation based on coordination of the scientific potentials of the CEMA countries in accordance with the Integrated Program of Socialist Economic Integration.<sup>11</sup>

The effective period of a large number of measures in the general expanded program was lengthened beyond 1980; to be more precise, a new general expanded



program of cooperation among CEMA countries in environmental protection and improvement, and of the associated sensible use of natural resources, was developed for 1981-1985. This program is even broader, and it foresees integrated solution of problems on a multilateral basis. By the beginning of 1983 the CEMA countries completed efforts to reduce motor vehicle noise and vibrations within the framework of mutual scientific-technical cooperation; they finished work on a number of topics concerned with reducing air pollution by vehicle exhausts. The projects included improving the method of evaluating the toxicity of diesel engines, stiffening the norms for discharge of toxic substances by motor vehicles with diesel engines, and others.

Were we to conduct a comparative analysis of the two general expanded programs (Program I and Program II for 1981-1985), we would arrive at the following data: In accordance with Program II the quantity of topics in relation to which the USSR is the research organizer is 48 (the figure for Program I was 35); the number of topics in relation to which multilateral cooperation is foreseen was 145 (152); the number of topics being studied on the basis of multilateral cooperation is 9 (17); the number of topics in relation to which exchange of research results is planned is 2; the number of topics in relation to which researchers are being exchanged is 1 (there were no exchanges in Program I); moreover interaction on the basis of agreements, the conduct of symposiums and seminars, cooperation on the basis of agreements and experience exchange are foreseen as well.

Active participation of CEMA countries in the programs described above produces a significant economic impact. Thus a number of positive results were achieved in Poland in problems concerning the influence of air pollution on forest and agrotechnical ecosystems.<sup>12</sup> Czechoslovakia initiated production of analyzing equipment and analyzing stations (AS-80) for automation and sensible control of production processes in water supply and water treatment, to support economical water consumption and to monitor liquid wastes. This equipment is being used in other countries of the socialist fraternity as well.<sup>13</sup>

Solution of the socioeconomic problems of using natural resources and major implementation of nature protection measures are objects of long-range, persistent general interest among CEMA countries. As with the tactical problems of socialist economic integration, the strategic problems can no longer be solved without accounting for the ecological situation as it now stands. This is why the prognostic aspect of research and development in the area of cooperation for reproduction of the environment is acquiring increasingly greater significance. Predictions must provide the necessary basis for making long-range assessments of the influence of scientific-technical progress upon the environment, and of processes associated with population growth and urbanization.

Sizable material and financial resources of the countries of the socialist fraternity will have to be brought together in order to solve the problems addressed in the general expanded program of cooperation in the current five-year plan. Growth in the volume of capital investments allocated for environmental protection and for sensible use of natural resources can be observed with every year in the CEMA countries<sup>14</sup> (in this case the growth rate surpasses the rate of growth of the physical volume of capital investments into the

national economy as a whole). Thus in 1976-1982 the USSR spent 13.1 billion rubles of state capital investments on protection and improvement of the environment (in comparable prices)<sup>15</sup>; in 1976-1980 Czechoslovakia spent 600 million korunas<sup>16</sup>; in that same period Bulgaria spent 840 million leva, and expenditures totaling 1.2 billion leva are planned for 1981-1985.<sup>17</sup>

An urgent need for improving integrated interaction among CEMA countries in resources utilization is arising. This effort requires an integrated approach. International unification of resources and possibilities for developing low-waste and wasteless production procedures is becoming one of the priority tasks. On one hand cooperation in this sphere is associated with the need for sensible economical expenditure of resources, while on the other hand it satisfies the modern requirements for fundamental changes in the approach to the role of scientific-technical progress. What this implies is a need for switching from resource-intensive ("resource-devouring") forms of scientific and technical progress to its resource, labor and energy conserving forms. The significant changes in the functions and targets of scientific-technical progress are directly affecting the course and results of environmental protection measures, and opening up new possibilities in this area.

Cooperating organizations of the CEMA countries are devoting special attention to improving production processes within the framework of individual production operations, and to introducing closed production cycles making it possible to almost completely exclude environmental pollution. Solution of these and other problems, ones which are common to all countries of the socialist fraternity, will require coordination of investment policy in relation to nature conservation measures. The need for doing so is a result of the demand for making use of natural resources more effective.

A large number of nature conservation measures foreseen by Program II are intended to support the DTsPS [not further identified] programs in the principal sectors of the national economies of countries in the socialist fraternity in the period to 1990. "Efforts are being made to implement major agreements aimed at accelerating technical progress and pertaining primarily to resource-conserving technology," emphasizes the Communique on the 37th CEMA Session. "Mention was made of the special significance of measures being implemented in the countries to economize on material resources and to achieve cooperation in this area."<sup>18</sup>

Fulfillment of the DTsPS programs is most directly associated with all aspects of the life and activities of people leading a socialist way of life, including with the unique features of utilizing natural resources and with the system of nature conservation measures being developed and implemented by the CEMA countries. Three DTsPS programs--fuel and energy (including a subprogram on raw minerals), agricultural and transportation--directly influence development of nature for production purposes, and its state and development, while two others--machine building and consumer goods--have an indirect influence. Moreover all of man's economic activities are associated with the surrounding natural environment upon which man acts. This influence can be destructive or creative, or it may at least promote restoration of the environment's original properties and qualities. This is why it is extremely important for the DTsPS

programs to be ecologically oriented international planning documents, from the standpoint of implementing the measures they contain.

Much work is being done to implement the DTsPS programs for fuel, raw materials and energy, particularly in regard to protection and reproduction of the environment. Much attention is being devoted for example to protecting the atmosphere and water from pollution by toxic substances, to fighting noise and vibrations, to decontaminating and recycling industrial wastes, to protecting the subsoil and making sensible use of natural resources, and to restoring land previously exploited in connection with extraction of fuel and raw materials. Thus just the activities of the CEMA Permanent Commission for Cooperation in Oil and Gas Industry<sup>19</sup> have led to the development and introduction of the following in recent years:

a complex of measures aimed at reducing discharges of petroleum gases and hydrogen sulfide into the atmosphere at oil and gas fields, and improving the system for extracting, collecting, preparing and transporting oil and gas by curbing leakage in production processes and using a one-pipe system for collection of oil and gas;

new, more effective procedures for treating liquid wastes at oil fields, and their partial injection into beds in order to raise the oil yield;

measures to significantly reduce pollution of the atmosphere and water basins by exhausts; their introduction will create real preconditions for developing systems which do not discharge liquid wastes into water basins and which discharge even fewer exhausts into the atmosphere.

The program for expanded construction of nuclear power plants<sup>20</sup> in CEMA countries is associated with protection of the environment, with radiation safety, with biological protection, with dependable burial of power plant wastes and so on.

The principles for sanitary-protective zonation of nuclear power plants and for classification of emergency situations, requirements on protecting the environment in case of radiation mishaps, recommendations on the principal measures to be taken following a possible radiation mishap involving the loss of the heat carrier in the first loop of a nuclear power plant, and unified criteria for optimizing the volume of dosimetric control of the environment in the vicinities of nuclear power plants and at radioactive waste burial sites have now been developed.

Problems concerned with developing ecological grounds for distribution of production programs within the framework of an improved system of international socialist division of labor have now acquired special importance. The emphasis will be on both specializing equipment intended to support nature conservation and consistently stimulating conservation of energy and resources. Reaching an international agreement on the basic parameters of the ecological policy of the CEMA countries and development of an effective, improved mechanism by which to both carry out the agreements themselves and implement major conservation measures (or their systems) must be coordinated at the international level. An example of a topic of coordination in the ecological policy of the CEMA countries might be, for example, the methods



and resources of controlling pollutants that are most dangerous to man, radioactive substances, pesticides, industrial wastes, motor vehicle exhausts and chemical detergents, and the methods and resources for fighting phenomena that have a negative influence upon people (noise, vibrations, electromagnetic radiation and so on).

Countries of the socialist fraternity have initiated an extensive coordinated effort to implement an entire system of diverse nature conservation measures, realizing the goals, principles and methods of socialist use of natural resources and significantly improving the quality of the environment. In this case they are displaying concern for creating a healthy living environment not only for the present generations but also for future generations. As is noted in the CEMA declaration "Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation," deeper integrated interaction of CEMA countries in the effort to preserve and reproduce the environment will promote economic and social progress in each country, an increase in the material and spiritual standard of living of the people, and reinforcement of the power, unity and cohesiveness of socialist states."<sup>21</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Proceedings of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, Politizdat, 1981, p 7.
2. "Declaration of the Main Directions for Further Development and Deepening of Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation Among CEMA Countries," in "Ekonomicheskoye soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne 12-14 iyunya 1984 g. Dokumenty i materialy" [Economic Summit Conference of CEMA Countries, 12-14 June 1984. Documents and Materials], Moscow, Politizdat, 1984, p 20.
3. Marks, K. and Engel's, F., "Soch." [Works], Vol 19, p 13.
4. Each year in the mid-1970s mankind used 12-13 billion tons of natural organic and inorganic materials, including about 6 billion tons of fuel worldwide to create finished products having a volume of about 2.5 billion tons. In other words up to 80 percent of the natural raw materials consumed in man's production activity are transformed into wastes (see VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 8, 1978, p 129).
5. Back in the 1920s the Soviet Union demonstrated its desire to solve the fundamental problems of nature protection on the basis of mutually advantageous international cooperation (internal measures to solve such problems were drawn up beginning in 1918. Among them is the decree "On Socialization of the Land," signed by V. I. Lenin and Ya. M. Sverdlov and foreseeing creation of the conditions for raising the fertility of the land). An important step in this direction was an agreement signed by the USSR and the USA in May 1978 to cooperate in environmental protection.

6. See EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 2, 1979, p 31.
7. See "Informatsiya o rezul'tatakh rabot, vypolnennykh v oblasti sovместnoy razvernutoy programmy, rassmotrennaya na 17 zasedanii Soveta po okhrane okruzhayushchey sredy" [Information on the Results of Work Carried Out on the Joint Expanded Program Examined in 17 Meetings of the Council for Environmental Protection], Sofia, March 1981.
8. See Prokudin, V. and Rzhanova, G., "Basic Directions of Scientific-Technical Cooperation on Environmental Protection in CEMA," in "Vklad stran-chlenov SEV v okhranu okruzhayushchey sredy" [Contribution of CEMA Countries to Environmental Protection], Moscow, SEV, Komitet po nauchno-tekhnicheskomu sotrudnichestvu, 1982, p 8.
9. See EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 3, 1981, p 46.
10. In particular, as is obvious from this document, the following kinds of wastes are encountered: metallic, nonmetallic, mineral, municipal-domestic and thermal power.
11. "Osnovnyye dokumenty Soveta Ekonomicheskoy Vzaimopomoshchi" [Basic Documents of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance], Vol 1, Moscow, Sekretariat SEV, 1976, p 67.
12. See NOVE DROGI, No 3, 1984, p 91.
13. See EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 5, 1984, pp 41-42.
14. As an example during the 10th Five-Year Plan the USSR spent about 26 billion rubles on environmental protection from all sources of financing, and so on (see IZVESTIYA, 6 February 1981).
15. See "Narodnoye khozyaystvo SSSR v 1982 g. Statisticheskii yezhegodnik" [The USSR National Economy in 1982. Statistical Annual], Moscow, Finansy i statistika, 1983, p 361.
16. See Czaplinski, Z., "Protection of the Natural Environment in Czechoslovakia," PRZYRODA POLSKA, No 6, 1977, pp 6-7.
17. See BIKI, 1983, p 7; PROBLEMY GEOGRAFII, Bulgaria, No 2, 1977, p 3.
18. "Communique on the 37th Session of the Council for Economic Mutual Assistance," PRAVDA, 21 October 1983.
19. Fourteen topics were approved in this commission's program of work on the problems of protecting and improving the environment in 1981-1985. Seven of them are a continuation of work carried out on the basis of Program I, with the appropriate improvements and additions.
20. The operating experience accumulated by the CEMA countries confirms their high reliability and safety to the environment, and their ecological advantages over thermal power plants. In 1982 the CEMA countries introduced power production units with a total output capacity of 2,880 Mw (electricity), while the quantity of electric power generated by these plants exceeded 120 billion kw·hr at a sustained power output of 22,300 Mw,



which made it possible to save about 40 million tons of standard fuel units (see EKONOMICHESKOYE SOTRUDNICHESTVO STRAN-CHLENOV SEV, No 12, 1983, p 9).

21. "Ekonomicheskoye soveshchaniye stran-chlenov SEV na vysshem urovne 12-14 iyunya 1984 g," p 32.

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CSO: 1825/118

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

BLOC COUNTRIES' ENERGY-SAVING EFFORT FEATURED

PM261053 [Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 September 1985  
Second Edition carries on page 4 a featureheaded "The Community: Experience in Making Economies," which comprises seven items.

A 150-word editorial introduction says that "the creation and introduction of low-waste or waste-free techniques that save on raw materials, energy, and manpower are a paramount task" and that "today we are describing fraternal states' search for ways to economical management."

The feature opens with a 1,100-word Prague dispatch entitled "The Water of Life: Industrialization and Nature" by our correspondent S. Vtorushin, which looks at ways in which water is saved in Czechoslovakia, particularly through the introduction of recycling systems in industry and the pursuit of a mains repair program to stem waste in the supply system. Vtorushin also reports that "much is being done in Czechoslovakia to eliminate pollution of water supply sources" and that a "strict system of compensation for damage caused to rivers and lakes by industrial enterprises operates in the CSSR."

In a 1,000-word "Topical Interview" titled "Saving Electricity," filed from Sofia by our correspondent L. Zhmyrev, Bulgarian Power Supply Minister Nikola Todoriev describes "three strategic avenues" developed to deal with the country's energy shortfall—"still one of Bulgaria's acutest problems." First, building up nuclear power; second, developing techniques for utilizing low-grade coal; third, energy saving—"the third and most reliable source of energy in Bulgaria." The minister observes: "Our efforts today are aimed primarily at reducing the energy-intensiveness of industrial output," and concludes: "The Energy Program plans to save the national economy millions of metric tons of ideal fuel in the current 5-year plan."

A 1,000-word dispatch entitled "Treasure Beneath Our Feet: The System for Procuring Secondary Raw Materials in the GDR," filed by our correspondent Yu. Kazmin from Berlin, describes industrial recycling of materials. Pointing out that "more than 12 percent of the republic's industrial raw material requirements are currently met by using secondary materials," Kazmin writes that "all the achievements in this sphere are the result of great organizational and educational work and purposeful efforts" at all levels, coupled with media publicity and an extensive network of collection points.

A 150-word unattributed item entitled "Just Facts" lists data on energy savings obtainable in various spheres.

The final item, a 750-word Budapest-dated "Reportage" entitled "Those Valuable Waste Products..." by our correspondent V. Gerasimov, describes Hungarian experience in producing methane and fertilizers from organic waste and secondary products. The author reports that "there are already several biological reprocessing plants operating in Hungary" and that "experiments to develop minicomplexes for ancillary plots and gardens are being conducted. A special government program involving 30 scientific research institutes and 25 enterprises in the republic has also been adopted."

CSO: 1825/001

SOCIALIST COMMUNITY AND CEMA AFFAIRS

FIRST CONGRESS OF PSYCHIATRISTS OF SOCIALIST COUNTRIES

LD272206 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1356 GMT 27 Sep 85

[Text] Moscow, 27 Sep (TASS)--"Research into and solutions of the most important problems in the area of psychiatry demand the joint efforts of scientists of different countries. It is expected that the World Psychiatrists Association [WPA] will also aid their unification," the vice president of this organization, Professor Johann Neumann (GDR), said in a conversation with a TASS correspondent. He is taking part in the first congress of psychiatrists of socialist countries, which today finishes its work in Moscow.

However, some national psychiatrists' associations at the present time, including one of the biggest, the Soviet one, are not taking part in the activity of the association, Johann Neumann continued. The Soviet Scientific Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists was forced to leave the association as a result of provocative actions by certain reactionary circles, which put forward fabricated accusations against Soviet medical personnel of certain abuses of psychiatry for political aims which are alleged to have taken place.

Johann Neumann supports wide contacts with scientists of various countries. "Many of us," the scientist says, "unanimously emphasize that there is no basis for such accusations. Soviet psychiatrists work in a professional manner, there can be no talk even of abuse to the detriment of the health of anyone at all. It is precisely in the USSR and other socialist countries that the system of health care makes it possible to more fully and effectively use the achievements of psychiatric science in practice: in preventive care, in the treatment and in the rehabilitation of people, than there can be in the capitalist countries."

The experience of Soviet science and practice in this sphere interests many foreign scientists, Johann Neumann continued. They visit Moscow, Leningrad, and other cities to exchange work experience. The absence of the Soviet Society of Neuropathologists and Psychiatrists from the association causes, in their opinion, harm to its activity.

How did it turn out that the leaders of the WPA and a few representatives of the national organizations could, despite the opinion of the majority of the

countries, carry through resolutions hostile to the Soviet Union? Johann Neumann explained this as a peculiarity of the WPA Charter, whereby the number of votes depends on the amount of contribution to the association. Thanks to this the psychiatrists' organizations of three countries, the United States, England, and France, are in possession of almost half of all votes when it comes to making decisions. This provides an opportunity for accepting documents which run counter to the spirit and purpose of the association.

Professor Neumann noted with satisfaction that starting from the 1983 WPA Congress in Vienna the attitude toward the Soviet scientific society is becoming fairer and more objective in the association's governing organs. The WPA leaders cannot ignore the opinion of the majority which comes out in support of strengthening cooperation between scientists of all countries in the name of providing for people's health, the scientist emphasized.

CSO: 1807/23



### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### REVIEW OF JOURNAL AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA NO 7, 1985

Moscow APN DAILY REVIEW in English 26 Jul 85 pp 1-5

[Text] The July issue of the journal carries an article "The TNCs Criminally Juggle With the Fates of Millions of People" by V. Shchetinin. The author writes that the Indian city of Bhopal became known in the world in an instant. In December 1984, more than 2,500 Indians perished and about 100,000 were gravely poisoned there as a result of the leak of toxic agents at a plant of the American company Union Carbide.

People all across the world were upset not only by the disaster itself which entailed the loss of human lives--such catastrophes happened in the past, too. The developments in Bhopal made many people give thought with anxiety to the results of the nearly complete absence of control over the activity of the transnational corporations, the author notes. It is now difficult to find a crime against society in the capitalist world to which the transnational corporations would not resort for the sake of ensuring their profits--from bribery and blackmail to systematic plunder of the peoples, financing of the most inhumane, reactionary regimes and setting up of international military business.

The socially dangerous character of the TNCs' activity in developing countries manifests itself with particular clarity in developing countries in many of which detailed legal norms and appropriately organized social counteraction do not exist so far. In the absence of control, the sale and production operations of many TNCs on the markets of developing countries are, in effect, of a terrorist character with regard to the masses of people.

The TNCs' activity does irremediable damage to nature, V. Shchetinin goes on to say. The socioeconomic system which has no confidence of the future seeks to make immediate profit, showing no concern for preserving and restoring the natural environment, especially when this concerns other countries. The pursuit of great profits without substantial additional expenditures impels such corporations to locate ever more enterprises of ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy and the woodworking, paper-and-pulp, asbestos, chemical and petrochemical industries on the territories of the developing states. We are witnessing, in effect, export of the "ecological crisis" to developing countries through the TNCs' channels.

It is only natural that such adverse aspects of the activity of the TNCs in developing countries cause a wave of protests of the progressive public, the author says in conclusion. They demand that the TNCs take concrete measures to prevent operations which do irremediable damage to the people's health and to the natural environment.

In his article entitled "The Cause of a Lifetime" V. Baikof relates the story of building the People's Revolutionary Party of Afghanistan.

On the eve of the revolution the party had had 18,000 members. Now there are 130,000 voting and candidate members, the article says. In the course of translating the PDPA's programme of action into reality ever more people, various classes and social groups become involved in progressive democratic transformations. Progressive-minded representatives of factory and office workers, peasants and army men increasingly associate their lives with the party.

One specific feature of party building in Afghanistan is that it proceeds in a poorly developed country amid the continued intrigues by the counterrevolutionaries and the undeclared war waged from abroad. The party has sent its best cadres to the provinces to conduct ideological work, enlist popular support for the revolution and promote a wide range of socioeconomic transformations proclaimed by the popular government. The PDPA has been recognized as a true vanguard of the Afghan working people.

It was no easy task for the party to become leader of the country, the author of the article maintains. To grasp the conditions under which the PDPA has to work it would suffice to recall that at the present time, according to official data, of each 15 million Afghan residents only 150,000 are industrial workers who have just started to unite into a class, while the majority of the population is illiterate.

The influence and prestige of the PDPA have been steadily growing, the article says; evidence the emergence in the past few years of hundreds of new party branches and grassroots organisations. The party seems to have done well in strengthening its unity and cohesion.

Half of those joining the party are under 30. The young people of Afghanistan are strongly attracted to the PDPA, the vanguard of the working people. Herein lies the earnest of the party's growing strength and influence among the masses.

A. Geogiyev and A. Krasilnikov have contributed an article, "Imperialism's Acts of Ideological Subversion."

They write that in the mid-eighties imperialism has launched an intensive anticommunist campaign. Bourgeois propaganda is insistently seeking new forms and methods of influencing the people, including the young, having left unchanged its main strategic direction--anticommunism.

The policy of imperialism, in the first place, U.S. imperialism, towards the rising generation is now characterised not by separate, isolated steps and actions, but by purposeful coordinated activities pursuing a double aim: first, to win as many supporters of anticommunism from among the young people as possible and to restructure the various right-wing and conservative national youth organisations into regional ones and then into an integrated international youth organisation; second, to oust ideology from the world's democratic youth movement and to emasculate its anti-imperialist and antiwar character.

That policy is an organic part of the Washington-announced Project Democracy (Programme for Democracy and Public Diplomacy), the article reads. The slogans of "democracy" and "free exchange of ideas" are only a smokescreen concealing imperialist policy in the sphere of ideology, propaganda and culture. The true aim of such "democracy and public diplomacy" is to spread the spiritual influence of the American bourgeoisie and to strengthen its domination in the capitalist and developing countries.

It is as part of putting such strategy and tactics into effect that the so-called International Youth Conference (IYC) was held in the city of Kingston, Jamaica, early in April of 1985. In preparing for and holding that gathering in Jamaica, Washington had relied on the U.S. Information Agency (USIA) and the U.S. Youth Council (USYC), as well as on the monopolistic circles of the United States. The Kingston Declaration contains many provisions at variance with the young people's interests. The document is couched in extremely biased terms and distinguished by an anticommunist spirit.

It is not by chance that the conference in Jamaica ended in a fiasco. The overwhelming majority of national, regional and international youth organisations all over the world, including such authoritative organisations as the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students, had come out against holding the conference.

The outcome of the IYC is a graphic proof that Washington has nothing to offer except the postulates of the period of the cold war in trying to counter the peaceful activities of democratic youth, their consistent struggle against imperialism, for peace and social progress. The attempts of imperialism to win over to its side the younger generation in the developing countries are hopeless, the authors of the article opine. A system counting on the arms race and war and seeing in them a condition for preserving its positions has no future before it. The acts of subversion by its ideologists aimed at making that foreign-policy line appear attractive in the eyes of broad sections of the young people are also doomed to failure.

The journal also carries an editorial, "The 12th World Youth Festival"; an article, "Italy-Africa: Partnership or Expansion?" by M. Amvrosov; an article, "India: The Individual in a Changing Society," by E. Rashkovsky; and other material.

### THIRD WORLD ISSUES

#### DEVELOPMENT OF TWO FORMER PORTUGUESE AFRICAN COLONIES NOTED

##### Sao-Tome and Principe

[Editorial Report] Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 7 for July 1985 carries on pages 14-17 an article entitled "A Decade of Freedom" by A. Tokarev and D. Golubev describing their visit to Sao-Tome and Principe. After giving a brief description of the island the authors relate the history of struggle for liberation of the islands' residents against the Portuguese colonialists. In 1975 independence was achieved and the Democratic Republic of Sao-Tome and Principe was formed, headed by the chairman of the Movement for the Liberation of Sao-Tome and Principe. The article describes the development of agriculture and the transformation of the islands from the one-crop (cocoa beans) export economy favored by the Portuguese landowners into producers of fruits and vegetables for internal consumption as well. Centers for increasing the qualifications of agricultural workers are being set up with courses taught by Cubans and natives trained in the Soviet Union, Cuba and Angola. More than 12,000 people, a third of the able-bodied population, work in agriculture.

##### Cape Verde Islands

[Editorial Report] Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 7 for July 1985 carries on pages 18-20 an article by P. Danilov entitled "A New Life for the Republic" which discusses the development successes and problems of the Republic of the Cape Verde Islands. The author describes several of the islands (Fogo, Sao Tiago, Sal and Boa Vista) and the ethnic makeup of the population, mostly mulattos of Portuguese-African descent. Danilov explains that at the start of the liberation struggle the Cape Verde islands and Guine-Bissau were united in the African Party for the Independence of Cape Verde and Guinea Bissau. Independence was won in 1975 and in November of 1980 a separate Cape Verde Party was formed. The republic was declared a "national revolutionary democratic state". The article also mentions the Soviet Union's contribution to the islands' development, particularly in the fields of health care and education of trained specialists. The republic regularly hosts Soviet film festivals and exhibits, and books on the Soviet Union and Marxist-Leninist topics are available. The republic supports the initiatives of the socialist countries for averting "thermonuclear catastrophe and strengthening peace and security on our planet".

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WORLD ENERGY SITUATION VIEWED

Kiev EKONOMIKA SOVETSKOY UKRAINY in Russian No 7, Jul 85 pp 76-83

[Article by Candidate of Economic Sciences B. Savchuk: "The Modern Energy Situation and the World Economic Ties of Capitalism"]

[Text] The energy crisis of the 1970s and early 1980s will doubtlessly assume a very special place in the history of the world capitalist economy. In terms of the scale and depth of the shock, in terms of its effects upon capitalism's world economic ties, and in terms of the duration of the aftereffects, it has no analogues among other structural crises. Causing sharp changes in the price proportions in the world capitalist market, the energy crisis had and continues to have an effect, far-reaching in its consequences, both upon the structure of the world capitalist economy and upon the position of different groups of countries contained within the world capitalist economic system.

Neocolonialists will long remember the tumultuous events of 1973-1974 associated with the energy crisis and with the tendency for prices on raw materials to rise--in proportions unprecedented throughout the entire history of capitalism. These events deprived the imperialist states and international monopolies of their previous self-sufficiency and tranquility, they laid bare the scale of their dependence upon developing countries, and they cast doubt upon the strength and the previously assumed inviolability of traditionally evolved international ties and division of labor, and upon the capability of Western monopolies for continuing to dictate world prices on mineral and agricultural raw materials.

Prior to the 1970s the position of oil extracting countries in the world capitalist market did not differ in any way from the position of most developing countries. As with other developing countries, they suffered colossal losses due to the continual worsening of "market conditions." The progressing imbalance in their exchange with developed capitalist countries, which was the consequence of the low oil prices maintained by the international oil monopolies, led to a decrease in the share contributed by this group of countries to world capitalist export.

The position changed fundamentally during the energy crisis that took off in 1973. Coordinated actions by the oil extracting countries in determining price policy and the volume of oil extracted by OPEC countries coupled with

the scarcity of energy-producing minerals that formed in the world market allowed them to raise oil prices by several orders of magnitude and fundamentally alter the "conditions of trade" with Western countries. Just in 1973-1974 alone the "wholesale price" on oil increased by a factor of 6, while concessional deductions in favor of OPEC states increased per barrel of oil<sup>1</sup> by a factor of 7.7<sup>2</sup>. The era of cheap oil faded irreversibly into the past. But this was not all that happened. The oil extracting countries initiated an even more persistent struggle against transnational corporations for the right to dispose of their natural resources freely.

Nationalization of foreign monopolist property began in the oil extracting countries in the period immediately preceding the energy crisis, but it developed with special force immediately after it began. In this case it was extremely important that the OPEC countries dared to transgress upon the property of the largest and most powerful transnational oil corporations. Thus while in 1972 the family of giant oil companies making up the international oil cartel possessed more than half of the explored oil reserves of the nonsocialist world and produced two-thirds of the crude oil, in 1982 they possessed barely a tenth of the oil reserves and contributed less than 20 percent to oil extraction in the capitalist world.<sup>3</sup>

The second outbreak of the energy crisis in 1979-1980 elicited a new jump in world prices on liquid fuel, which reached its apogee in 1982. And in general in the period from 1970 to 1982, current nominal prices on oil grew from \$1.80 to \$34.00 per barrel, or by a factor of 18.9, while real prices<sup>4</sup> increased by a factor of 6.6.<sup>5</sup> As a result the export income of the oil extracting countries began growing at an unprecedented rate. The mean annual increment in the value of products exported by oil exporting countries was 30 percent in the 1970s, and it was wholly based on the price increase. The physical volume of exported goods remained almost the same, and in 1980 it was even 5.5 percent below the 1970 level<sup>6</sup>. Change in the price situation in the oil market itself significantly increased the share of the OPEC countries in the total exports of developing countries and in the entire world capitalist export system, as may be deduced from the data in the table below.

The table shows that the export volume of the OPEC countries increased in current prices from \$17.6 billion in 1970 to \$302.4 billion in 1980, while their share of world capitalist exports increased from 6.3 percent in 1970 to 16.6 in 1980, when they enjoyed 54.6 percent of the export profits of all developing countries. The decrease in export profits of OPEC countries that followed in 1981-1983 was associated almost exclusively with the reduction of the physical volume of oil exports during the economic crisis of over-production in developed capitalist countries.

And so, in the course of a single decade the OPEC countries became the recipients of colossal incomes due to their appropriation of enormous oil capital and due to the difference between the world price on oil and the international value of this product; this gave them a monopoly over the world oil market and the possibility for dictating prices. This permitted them to basically solve the problem of accumulating capital in the form of value. The problem of accumulating capital in natural material form was found to

**Dynamics of Exports by OPEC Countries and Change in Their Share of Exports by Developing Countries and of World Capitalist Exports in 1970-1983\***

	(1) (млрд. дол.)					
	(2) Годы					
	1970	1975	1980	1981	1982	1983
Экспорт стран — членов(3) ОПЕК (млрд. дол.) .	17,6	113,9	302,4	285,0	225,6	181,7
Доля в экспорте развивающихся стран (%) (4)	31,7	54,1	54,6	51,6	46,1	40,2
Доля в мировом капиталистическом экспорте (%) (5)	6,3	14,4	16,6	15,9	13,6	11,3

Calculations based on: "1982. Yearbook of International Trade Statistics," Vol 1, Special table: A. United Nations, New York, 1984, p 1125; United Nations. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics. January 1985. Vol XXXIX, No 1, p 106.

**Key:**

- |                                                |                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| 1. Billion dollars                             | 4. Share of exports by developing countries (%) |
| 2. Year                                        | 5. Share of world capitalist exports (%)        |
| 3. Exports by OPEC countries (billion dollars) |                                                 |

be more difficult. The income was so great that these countries were unable to "digest" it. In 1980 41.1 percent of the export income of this group of countries was used to cover the quickly growing imports. In 1982 this indicator did of course attain 67.2 percent,<sup>7</sup> but this was associated not so much with an increase in import volume as with a decrease in the export volume.

Nonetheless investments into the economy made it possible for oil extracting countries to noticeably increase the rate of growth of their GNP in comparison with other developing countries and to accelerate creation of processing industry sectors. Many of them are transforming into countries with an average level of development equivalent to that of the capitalist world, and in terms of per capita income some countries of the Persian Gulf which quite recently had been impoverished and enslaved by imperialism now significantly surpassed the most developed states of the world. Thus the GNP of the United Arab Emirates is \$30,070 per capita, in Qatar it is \$26,080, and in Kuwait it is \$22,840. This indicator is \$12,730 in the USA.<sup>8</sup> And were we to compare the per capita income of these Arabian monarchies with the corresponding indicators for developing states, we would find the latter to be lower by tens and hundreds of times.

Because only a fraction of the enormous oil income of a number of OPEC countries can be utilized within these countries, their foreign assets invested predominantly in the reproductive system of developed capitalist countries began

to grow at a rapid pace. In early 1982 the foreign investments of Arabian states were \$405 billion, of which \$350 billion were state assets.<sup>9</sup> Income from foreign holdings in some states of the Arabian Peninsula, particularly that of Kuwait, began to compete with income from oil exports. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates became possessors of a tremendous amount of relatively surplus capital, exported primarily as loans. The financial position of most other OPEC countries is hardly as brilliant as this, and many of them have been experiencing serious financial difficulties, especially in recent years, owing to reduction of export income from oil.

While for oil extracting countries the new situation in the world oil market in the 1970s was found to be extremely favorable, the consequences of the new situation were directly opposite in relation to their counterparts in the world economic ties of the world capitalist economy. Thus while in 1970 the industrially developed countries spent only 6 percent of their total export income from product sales in countries of the world capitalist economic system to pay for imports from OPEC countries, in 1980 they were spending as much as 18.8 percent of export profits on such imports.<sup>10</sup> In a number of countries this indicator was much larger: In that same year the USA spent 25.9 percent of its export income on imports from oil exporting countries, Japan spent 44.6 percent, and Spain spent 48.9 percent.<sup>11</sup> Enormous absolute values hide behind these relative indicators. In 1980 imports from OPEC countries cost developed capitalist countries \$230 billion, and this is not counting the cost of oil imported from other oil extracting countries.

The high prices on oil were one of the main reasons for the decrease in the rate of economic growth of industrially developed countries and for the increase in the inflation rate. Nonetheless the developed capitalist states managed to somehow adapt to the new energy situation in the world, though with great difficulty and at colossal expense. The structural reorganization that occurred in the economies of these countries in favor of energy-saving production operations, and equally so the energy economization measures, managed to somewhat absorb the consequences of the two outbreaks of the energy crisis. Moreover the imperialist states were able to pass some of these outlays onto other developing countries through the foreign trade mechanism by changing the coefficient of exchange of raw materials for finished products in their favor.

Oil importing developing countries suffered the most serious consequences of the energy crisis. The cost of their imports from OPEC countries increased from \$3.4 billion in 1970 to \$66.0 billion in 1980, when it attained 28.5 percent of the total cost of their exports.<sup>12</sup> The absolute value of the oil bills of this group of countries was almost equal to their total passive trade balances. This also pertains to their payment balances. In 1980-1981, payments for oil were approximately 95 percent of the total payment balance for current operations of oil importing developing countries, while the total negative balance of payments for oil reached \$77.5 billion in 1981.<sup>13</sup>

Aid provided by OPEC to oil importing developing countries was totally inadequate to significantly alleviate their difficulties; moreover this aid exhibited a tendency to decrease. While in 1975 it was \$9.4 billion (in 1982 prices) and in 1980 it was \$9.0 billion, in subsequent years it fell constantly,



decreasing to \$5.6 billion in 1983.<sup>14</sup> This is why these countries were forced to apply more and more frequently to imperialist states and private commercial banks, thus finding themselves increasingly more dependent financially upon imperialism. All of this is having a most negative influence upon programs for investment into the economy.

The presently existing prices on oil sold in the world capitalist market are by nature monopolistic prices. They differ from classical monopolistic prices only in that they are set not by private monopolies but rather by the state monopolies of the OPEC countries. Their objective basis is the same--a high degree of monopolization of production and marketing. With the establishment of this new type of monopolistic prices, the one-sided orientation of non-equivalent exchange between imperialist states and oil exporting countries disappeared. Unfortunately the prices on oil in the world market, which are doubtlessly quite justified in relation to imperialist states and which allow oil extracting countries to at least somewhat compensate for the colossal losses inflicted upon them over many decades by international oil monopolies in the "era of cheap oil," contain an element of nonequivalence in relation to the absolute majority of the developing countries, which are net oil importers. This new form of nonequivalence, which is accompanied by an intensification of the old tendency for reduction of the coefficient of exchange of raw material for finished articles, observed distinctly in the second half of the 1970s and especially in the early 1980s, has led to growth in the deficits in their trade and payment balances, and to a colossal foreign debt.

The present high level of world oil prices is dangerous to imperialist states not only because, owing to them perhaps, for the first time in the history of the world economic ties of capitalism surplus value created in the world capitalist economy is undergoing redistribution in favor of one of the regions of the developing world, but also because it may set a precedent for countries producing other kinds of minerals and agricultural raw materials, and play the role of a unique catalyst in destroying the entire system of unequal economic and trade relations between imperialist states and liberated countries.

The economic crisis of 1980-1982, which did not spare the oil exporting countries either, made a substantial contribution to change in the energy situation in the world. Beginning in 1981 we observed a major reduction of foreign currency income for the principal oil exporters. While in 1980 the total value of oil exports by 19 developing countries was \$315 billion, in 1982 it decreased to \$230 billion, according to estimates of the UNCTAD secretariat.<sup>15</sup> The change in the energy situation had its greatest effect upon the export income of OPEC countries, 93 percent of which was from oil sales. In that same period this income decreased from \$302.4 billion to \$224.9 billion, and according to tentative estimates of the United Nations, it decreased to \$180 billion in 1983. Such a significant decrease in export income of the OPEC countries was associated chiefly with the decrease in the physical volume of oil deliveries (-17.7 percent in 1982 and -10 percent in 1983<sup>16</sup>) in a time of decreasing business activity and, what is especially important, in a time of implementation of measures to economize on oil consumption and to replace oil by alternative forms of fuel, undertaken in industrially countries. It must be recognized that the measures to economize on energy



resources, and particularly oil, did produce their results. While in the early 1970s the "energy coefficient" (the ratio of the increment in energy consumption to the increment in the GNP) was 1.0 and even somewhat greater in developed capitalist countries, in the 1980s it decreased to 0.4.<sup>17</sup>

A decision by OPEC to reduce the official price on standard (light Arabian) oil by 14.7 percent--from \$34 to \$29 per barrel (from \$250 to \$214 per ton)--also significantly helped to reduce export income from oil exporting countries. Official prices on other types of oil were reduced concurrently. In order to prevent a further drop in prices, the OPEC members were compelled to establish an 875 million ton limit on extraction, and quotas on the export of oil by countries in this organization. But because of the financial difficulties they were experiencing, certain OPEC members violated the established quotas, eliciting an aggravation in the conflicts within this organization. Imperialist powers, and chiefly the USA, are trying to capitalize on this in order to split OPEC and once again be able to dictate their own terms in the world oil market.

For almost 2 years the nominal price on oil remained unchanged. The hopes of oil exporting countries to alter the conditions in the world oil market for the better have not yet come to fruition. Moreover the decrease in the rate of economic growth of developed capitalist countries that began in the latter half of 1984 postponed these hopes indefinitely. In any case the OPEC countries were compelled to declare a new decrease in the official price on standard light Arabian oil as of 1 February 1985 from \$29 to \$28 per barrel, or to \$206.60 per ton. And although the second decrease is more a gesture than anything else (-3.45 percent), it does offer evidence of continuing aggravation of the struggle between OPEC and imperialist states in the world oil market.

Somewhat altered in the early 1980s in response to the influence of the factors examined above, the world energy situation generated various points of view in relation to the subsequent evolution of prices on energy resources, and chiefly on oil. The first decrease in official prices on oil by the OPEC countries--almost 15 percent--was viewed by many in the West as a manifestation of a weakness in OPEC, and even as the beginning of a crisis. And although such assertions are based more likely on wishful thinking than on reality, the future development of the energy situation in the world, and consequently the price on oil, is far from an idle problem, and it deserves the most persistent attention. This pertains chiefly to the developing countries, the overwhelming majority of which are oil importers. Developing their long-range strategy of economic development, they must account for the basic trends in development of the energy situation and for the changes it is objectively causing in development of modern world productive forces.

Until recently, unfortunately, these circumstances were not accounted for sufficiently by most liberated countries. Even in the conditions of the energy crisis, the rate of growth of energy consumption surpassed the rate of growth of industrial production in this group of countries as a whole. This explains the fact that the relative losses suffered by oil importing developing countries in response to growing oil prices were significantly greater than those experienced by developed capitalist countries. This is why in addition

to seeking energy resources and creating their own energy base, the liberated states that import energy resources must place priority on carefully re-examining new sectors of industry in favor of energy conserving sectors, economize on energy in every possible way, and introduce energy-saving technology into production and into the home, which will permit them to adapt to the new realities of world economic ties.

Today perhaps no one carries the illusion that a return to the times of cheap oil is possible. But at the same time we cannot exclude the possibility of a certain decrease in prices on liquid fuel, or their increase. The following question arises in this connection: What are the bounds of the fluctuations in oil prices in the world market, what are the limits of their possible decrease or increase? These questions can be answered correctly only from the positions of Marxist theory of labor value and ground-rent on products of the land and its subsoil. In this case the analysis should be carried out first at the level of formation of the international value of this product, and then it should be supplemented by an examination of the most important market factor determining the direction and scale of deviation of world oil prices from the international value of oil.

As with most other minerals, the production expenses associated with extraction of oil differ significantly in different countries, primarily because of differences in the natural factor of labor productivity. Thus, according to data published back in the mid-1970s, the average production expenses associated with oil extraction in countries of the Persian Gulf were 20 times lower than in Alaska.<sup>18</sup> Offshore oil extraction in the North and Norwegian seas was found to be an even more expensive undertaking than its extraction in inaccessible regions of Alaska. According to existing estimates the outlays on oil extraction there are around \$90-100 per ton.<sup>19</sup> And as long as this extraction is dictated by the needs of the world market, the international value and social price of production would have to be formed out of precisely these outlays, and it would have to include within itself a profit that is no less than the average profit from capital invested into other sectors of production. Given certain assumptions, were we to adopt 15 percent as the average profit norm,<sup>20</sup> then in normal conditions the world price on oil should not decrease below \$103.5-\$115 a ton (\$14.10-\$15.60 a barrel). This is its lower limit.

Thus the present level of world oil prices is about double that determined by the greatest outlays on oil extraction stemming from public (worldwide) demand for this product. To determine the upper limit for the movement of world oil prices, we would have to begin with the fact that oil is one of the nonrenewable minerals, and that its reserves are limited. In other words we would have to consider rent for exhaustion of the subsoil. This is why the upper limit of the world oil price, as N. Shmelev emphasizes, "is objectively determined by the outlays of mass profitable production of synthetic fuel from coal and from oil shale which, considering the high capital investments into such production operations, are somewhere around \$220-\$440 a ton today."<sup>21</sup>

Agreeing in principle with this statement of the problem, according to which world prices on oil should economically insure the feasibility of creating synthetic forms of fuel, we believe that the upper limit of this price must be determined today by the minimum outlays on production of synthetic fuel with regard for normal profitability--that is, it should be limited to \$220 a ton or \$29.90 a barrel. This in our opinion is associated with the fact that synthetic fuel has not yet become an alternative to oil as a fuel, while the demand of the world market for liquid fuel is still being satisfied almost exclusively by oil. It seems that position will not change in the next few years. Evidence of this can be found in particular in growth of the oil reserves in the capitalist world since the moment the energy crisis began. High world prices on oil have become a substantial argument in favor of intensifying explorations. It was noted at the 11th Congress of the World Energy Conference (1980) that at the present rate of oil consumption, it will take 100 years to deplete only those projected resources for which the extraction expenses would be less than \$15 a barrel.<sup>22</sup>

N. P. Shmelev also adheres specifically to this logic in his line of reasoning. "The upper limit of the real price on oil," he writes, "is consequently a certain level of outlays on producing its substitutes--that is, it is the 'closing' price of substitutes; moreover this price *promotes not rapid, mass displacement of natural cheap oil by these alternatives..., but rather a gradual movement of modern power engineering precisely in this direction* (italics mine.--V. S.)..."<sup>23</sup>. In other words to determine the upper limit of international value, we would have to begin with production outlays calculated per unit of product with regard for normal profitability of that quantity of liquid synthetic fuel which would be necessary to satisfy today's demand, or at least the demand of the immediate future, but not the entire foreseeable future. After all, value is determined not simply by labor outlays but rather by outlays dictated by modern social needs. And if production of synthetic oil out of oil-bearing sand and shale is now cheaper than conversion of coal into liquid fuel, it is precisely what should serve as the "closing" upper limit of the international value of oil.<sup>24</sup>

Thus under normal conditions--that is, in the case where the world price on oil is determined exclusively by international value and by the social price of producing this product, the world price on oil should be somewhere between the lower and upper limits, coming ever-closer to the latter as the world oil reserves are depleted and as the prospects of a gradual transition to synthetic fuel grow larger. In this case both of these limits are mobile. The lower limit will gradually rise with the transition to exploitation of poorer and more inaccessible oil deposits. And in all probability the upper limit will drop in response to scientific-technical progress associated with production of synthetic fuel.

Such is the analysis of the problem at the level of formation of international value. But as was noted earlier, the world price on oil is by nature a monopolistic price. It is fixed by OPEC on the basis of an agreement between the countries in this organization. Other countries that export oil orient themselves on prices set by OPEC. In the period following the second "wave" of oil price hikes (1979-1980) and prior to March 1983, in my opinion these



prices exceeded the upper limit of international value that would have been potentially possible in the immediate future, and now they are a little above this limit. Further evolution of world prices on oil will proceed under the influence of not only the factors responsible for forming the international value of this product but also those factors which cause them to deviate from international value.

Movement of the industrial cycle is chief among the factors determining the conditions of the world oil market, and consequently the level of sales prices. The ratio between supply and demand varies in correspondence with the phases of the industrial cycle, and this can cause oil prices to change in one direction or another. If depending on phases the industrial cycle has a diametrically opposite influence upon the prices of raw materials (including fuel), other factors would exert their influence in the same direction. A number of factors create the possibility for a rise in oil prices, while others not only reduce this possibility but can also cause a drop in prices. The way these two groups of factors behave in relation to each other and the question as to which group is dominant depend on the future movement of world oil prices.

The most important factor counteracting oil price reductions and determining the possibilities of their growth in the future is the power of OPEC. According to OPEC's annual report, in 1983 the countries in this organization possessed 68 percent of the world oil reserves, and they were responsible for 32.2 percent of world oil extraction and 59 percent of world export.<sup>25</sup> Given the present extraction volumes (estimates for 1983), the oil reserves in the OPEC countries would be enough for 65 years, while those in West Europe would be enough for less than 20 years and those of the USA would be enough for less than 9 years.<sup>26</sup> Hence it follows that the possibilities OPEC has for decisively influencing formation of world oil prices will increase in the future. But this influence is not limited solely to the future. The positions of the OPEC countries as the chief oil exporters are already so strong today that they would hardly permit any kind of significant decrease in oil prices. Members of the international oil cartel are also interested in maintaining high oil prices. While giving up its main concessions, the oil cartel has preserved sufficiently strong positions in the area of oil marketing and refining. The higher the prices on liquid fuel, the larger are the profits appropriated by the "seven sisters."

A decrease in oil prices may have unfavorable consequences to development of power engineering, inasmuch as it would retard development of alternative sources of energy and creation of synthetic forms of fuel. Oil prices are also being kept from falling by the growing value of oil as a raw material in chemical industry. High interest rates, which seriously hinder creation of oil reserves in consuming countries, and consequently which limit their possibilities for having an influence on the ratio between the demand for and supply of this product, are a factor that counteracts any decrease in oil prices.

The world price on oil will be "propped up" by the growing demand for it on the part of developing countries. This is associated on one hand with the greater rate of growth of the GNP in this group of countries in comparison



with developed capitalist states, and on the other hand with the significantly larger coefficient of energy intensiveness. The latter is aggravated by the inertia in the energy consumption structure of young countries. While in developed capitalist countries the structure of the energy balance has been constantly transformed in response to the energy crisis through reductions in the proportion of oil (today its share is about half of the energy resources consumed) and through a corresponding increase in the proportion of alternative forms of energy, in developing countries the structure of the energy balance has not been subjected to any kind of noticeable changes, and oil represents two-thirds of consumed energy. According to a prediction of the International Energy Agency, by as early as 1990 these countries will be consuming about a third of the oil used in the world capitalist economy.<sup>27</sup> And this means that they will have to carry an increasingly greater burden in the energy situation that has evolved in the capitalist world.

Besides the group of factors examined here which promote stabilization of oil prices, there are other factors which retard such growth and which may even cause price reductions. These factors are as follows. First of all, as had already been noted, in the decade since the beginning of the energy crisis the proven oil reserves of the capitalist world have not only not decreased, but they have even increased somewhat owing to both a decrease in extraction and intensification of explorations. More and more countries are assuming the road of creating their own energy base and achieving oil self-sufficiency. Second, as long as the price of synthetic substitutes serves as a "ceiling" restricting the growth of prices on organic raw materials, technical progress in sectors producing synthetic fuel will be accompanied by a decrease in production outlays, which may elicit a decrease in oil prices in the future. Third, the structural reorganization of the world economy proceeding today in favor of energy-conserving production operations, and equally so the measures to economize on energy resources and the intensive search for cheaper and alternative forms of energy, are promoting a decrease in the demand for oil, and consequently they are promoting a decrease in prices. Fourth, the principles of setting prices on oil as a nonrenewable fossil fuel also apply fully to other forms of raw minerals, the reserves of some of which--of tin in particular--are being depleted to a no lesser extent than oil. If the countries producing these forms of raw materials are able to achieve price increases, which would be doubtlessly justified, then the relative prices on oil would decrease. And fifth and finally, we cannot ignore the fact that the dependence between the West and OPEC is not one-sided. The oil extracting countries depend in turn on deliveries of food, equipment and technology from developed capitalist countries.

The future will show which of these two groups of factors influencing the dynamics of world oil prices will be the dominant one, and which of them will have the decisive influence upon the level of these prices. But it appears today that these groups of factors are almost in balance with each other, and this means that we can expect a period of relative stability of prices in the world oil market in the future. At the same time this stability may turn out to be impossible if the imperialist powers are able to sharpen the conflicts between the oil exporting countries, to erode the concordance in their actions and to split OPEC. In other words evolution of oil prices will be determined to a significant degree by the ratio of forces between imperialist

states and oil exporting countries. In this aspect we cannot but agree with R. Andreasyan's conclusion that "at each moment in time the level of oil prices is a certain compromise reflecting the ratio of economic and political forces between the centers of capitalism and the developing countries, and in the narrower aspect, between state monopolistic capital and bourgeois oil extracting countries."<sup>28</sup>

The position of developing countries that import oil--the absolute majority of this group of countries--has a great influence upon the ratio of political forces between OPEC countries and imperialist states. And while at the beginning of the energy crisis the liberated countries, which were motivated not only by a sense of anti-imperialist solidarity but also by the secret hope of attaining success in the struggle against imperialism within the framework of other associations of countries producing and exporting various forms of raw minerals and agricultural raw materials, unconditionally aligned themselves with the OPEC countries and decisively supported an increase in oil prices, today the prospects of such an increase would hardly be met with enthusiasm by them. After all, a rise in oil prices of any significance would mean to them additional multimillion outlays to pay their oil bills.

In the initial period of the energy crisis in the West, numerous forecasts were suggested in relation to development of the energy situation in the world. Most of them were alarming in nature, predicting a significant deceleration and even complete stoppage of world economic growth due to depletion of the reserves of energy resources. These predictions did not come true, and mankind's future with respect to energy does not appear so gloomy today. The capability already displayed by world productive forces for adapting to the complex realities of the energy potential of the late 20th century inspires hope. In addition, many countries are intensifying their search for oil and gas and conducting considerable research with the purpose of achieving wider introduction of alternative energy resources into production and the home, and the horizons of nuclear power engineering, which in the opinion of many scientists will become mankind's principal source of power in just half a century, are widening and becoming more visible. But in the immediate decades the "energy health" of the world economy will be associated with oil, which will remain at the center of world economic ties. And therefore establishing prices on oil and other energy resources which would be acceptable both to the exporters and to the importers, and which would economically insure continuation of the progressive changes that have started in world power engineering, is a task of priority importance to the world economy.

The Soviet Union and countries of the socialist fraternity are in principle proponents of international cooperation in solving global problems facing mankind, including the energy problem. But at the same time they are decisively in favor of making international economic relations democratic, they are in favor of reorganizing these relations so that, as was noted in the CEMA Declaration "Preservation of Peace and International Economic Cooperation" adopted in Moscow in June 1984, it would become possible for all countries of the world "to develop their economic potential fully and to move forward on the path of development in the conditions of peace, justice and mutual cooperation."<sup>29</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. An oil barrel is equivalent to 158,988 cubic inches.
2. PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES, No 1478, 23 June 1976, p 8.
3. PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES, No 1855, 5 January 1984, p 10.
4. Calculated without regard for inflation on the basis of purchasing power with respect to goods imported by OPEC countries, using 1970 prices.
5. See MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 1, 1984, p 65.
6. PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES, No 1819, 13 April 1983, p 6.
7. Calculated on the basis of: "United Nations. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," November 1983, Vol XXXVII, No 11, p 106.
8. "OECD. Development Cooperation. 1982 Review," Paris, 1982, pp 203, 256.
9. See VOPROSY EKONOMIKI, No 6, 1984, p 123.
10. Calculated on the basis of: "United Nations. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," May 1982, Vol XXXVI, No 5, p XXX; May 1983, Vol XXXVII, No 5, pp 100-101.
11. PROBLEMES ECONOMIQUES, No 1819, 13 April 1983, p 5.
12. Calculated on the basis of: "United Nations. Monthly Bulletin of Statistics," May 1982, Vol XXXVI, p XXX; May 1983, Vol XXXVII, No 5, pp 100-101.
13. "IFM. World Economic Outlook. 1981," Washington, 1982, p 122.
14. "OCDE. Cooperation pour le Developpement. Examen 1984," Paris, 1984, p 232.
15. UNCTAD VI. TD/273, 11 January 1983, p 6.
16. "Economic Status of Capitalist and Developing Countries," Appendix to the journal MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, survey of 1983 and the beginning of 1984, p 81.
17. INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT, June 1982, p 31.
18. See BIKI, 25 December 1975.
19. See KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1983, p 88.

20. The profit norm for Western monopolies in relation to all foreign investments in both developed and undeveloped countries averaged 14.4 percent in the late 1970s (see BIKI, 20 May 1982).
21. KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1983, p 88.
22. "Trade and Development. An UNCTAD Review," United Nations, New York, No 5, 1984, p 299.
23. MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 10, 1983, p 59.
24. This point of view is shared by Yu. Kurenkov and A. Konoplyanik (see MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 2, 1985, pp 71-72).
25. "OPEC. Annual Report. 1983," Vienna, pp 56-57.
26. Calculated on the basis of: "The Economic Position of Capitalist and Developing Countries," survey of 1983 and the start of 1984, p 34.
27. PETROLEUM ECONOMIST, November 1982, p 456.
28. MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA, No 1, 1984, p 63.
29. PRAVDA, 26 June 1984.

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UNITED STATES AND CANADA

EX-SENATOR FULBRIGHT INTERVIEWED ON U.S.-SOVIET TIES

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[From the "International Panorama" program presented by Gennadiy Gerasimov]

[Text] Observers predict that the situation in South Africa will be one of the main topics of discussion at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. Another important topic--indeed, perhaps the most important topic--will be how to put an end to the arms race. Here hopes are being tied to the Soviet-American summit meeting which is due to take place in November. The UN secretary general's report has this to say: I am confident that we all share enormous hopes that the forthcoming meeting between the leaders of the Soviet Union and the United States will promote a lowering of tension and progress both in disarmament and in other important matters. In connection with this hope President Reagan was asked a question at a press conference on Tuesday. This was the question: Why is the United States striving unswervingly to crush the hopes that are being placed upon the outcome of the summit meeting? The President replied that he is worried that they--meaning we--are trying to arouse hopes, and that people will be expecting a miracle. This is, of course, a strange reply. Miracles do not happen in politics, but why shouldn't one hope for what the UN secretary general mentioned, namely, a lowering of tension and progress in disarmament? Why this cold shower of skepticism?

Let us now listen to the views on this issue of J. William Fulbright, a prominent American. For many years he was at the head of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and in that capacity he often criticized the foreign policy of different American administrations for their approach through strength, and indeed one of his books is entitled: "The Arrogance of Power." It has, incidentally, been translated into Russian. Under the present administration this arrogance has reached new heights. And so J. William Fulbright was visited by our correspondents Vladimir Dunayev and (Sergey Cherkasov): [video consists of medium shot, over correspondent's shoulder, of Fulbright seated behind desk against background of book shelves]

[Fulbright in English, fading to superimposed translation by Dunayev] The problem of relations between our countries is the most important one in the world. There is no other problem that is more important. If we find a way for mutual cooperation it might change the whole situation in the world.

Take economics. Isn't it true that there is a shortage of food in many parts of the world? Isn't it true that environmental problems have become more acute, problems which countries are incapable of solving individually, but in which a great deal can be achieved by joint action? This may, perhaps, seem unrealistic, but it is a fact that by following a course of alienation over the past few years, we have been drawing away and spending enormous resources on the arms race and we have been threatening the fate of mankind. This is certainly not in the interests of either of our peoples but is against those interests.

I believe the time has come to overcome the inertia, to overcome the complexes and the obsessions. I hope for this. I think it is time for the pessimists to stop their exultation. The time of hope is coming. And none of this is as unrealizable as it might appear, to come to think together and to concern ourselves about a better world, a secure world.

The fact that you have a socialist system and that we have a capitalist system must not be an obstacle to cooperation. Let the systems show, over 4 or 5 decades of peace, what they are capable of, and which of them is the more effective; but this must not hamper cooperation. I know that there are difficult problems and barriers, although in the main these are psychological. Mutual distrust has to be overcome. That is what is extremely important. How can this be done? Perhaps we ought not to begin from the most sensitive problems. Arms control is the most difficult. It is linked with security. If we are able to make progress on arms control in Geneva that will be excellent, I am wholly in favor of that. But I predict that it is hardly going to be possible to achieve a major advance in this field, at any rate, straight away. It is much more simple to reach say, a new trade agreement, as was done in 1972, when it was unfortunately torpedoed by the Jackson amendment which had nothing at all to do with trade. Cooperation on joint prospects, bilateral relations, those are the areas from which it is easiest of all to make a start.

And of course I hope that the preparations for star wars and the militarization of space will stop. On the other hand, if they are going to insist on this from now on, then why shouldn't the Soviet Union and the United States carry out joint research in this field? If this really has not been conceived as a means of covering up a first strike, if this is supposedly a defensive weapon as is claimed by President Reagan, then why not invite the Russians to carry out the research jointly? I see no sense in this, but if Washington insists on weapons of this kind, then let them be created jointly by both sides, and ultimately we shall be in the same place that we are today, only we will have lost billions of dollars. There is no sense in trying to overtake each other in the production of arms. That is what we have been doing for the past 20 or 30 years. Superweapons are created, the other side gets them, and so it goes on ad infinitum. There are now between 40,000 and 50,000 nuclear warheads in the world. That is madness.

[Dunayev] Senator, you have talked about psychological barriers, about lack of trust, about complexes and obsessions being the cause of the alarming state of Soviet-American relations today. Is it not true, however, that besides

this there exists a particular force or forces which have an interest in the arms race?

[Fulbright] Yes, of course. So much money is involved in the arms race in a capitalist country. All the major corporations and their shareholders worship the incomes that flow in their direction by virtue of the fact that the country's resources are being spent on armaments and military purposes. The difference here is obvious, but under a socialist system--as I envisage it--military commanders must, by virtue of their service, come out in favor of the creation of the latest types of weapons. But as far as our military men are concerned, they are all solidly in favor of star wars, of MX missiles, and in our country this lobby is a very powerful one.

President Eisenhower called this the military-industrial complex. It is a very well-known manifestation in the United States. It has to be overcome. But it is there, that cannot be denied.

Is it possible to overcome it? Yes it is possible. If the country has an experienced and resolute leadership, then it is possible. Eisenhower was a president who knew how to overcome it, to control it. And he warned us, as far as the future was concerned, that it was possible that his successors in the White House might not know how to control the military-industrial complex.

In general, you know, it is difficult from the sidelines to understand how the government of our country operates. It is unlike anything else in the rest of the world. Nowhere else does the same kind of thing exist. The Government of the United States is not created to conduct international affairs and to implement foreign policy effectively and consistently. This does not, perhaps, make it easier for others, but such is life. It is worth being patient in dealing with the American Government. It knows how to deal with things within the country, but there is extremely little consistency in our foreign policy. What's more we usually have at the head of our government people who are not experienced in the international sphere. And this explains to no small degree the imperfections in foreign policy actions. A long time is needed for the wishes of Americans in the foreign policy area to reach, ultimately, our government. If one takes a broader look at the problem, it is not just that our leaders are inexperienced, it seems to me that in general there exists in our country an obsession about the Soviet Union. I do not think there is a realistic impression in the United States about your country, its history and its objectives, just as I do not think that people in your country know America and Americans sufficiently. And this, in fact, is quite explicable, because until World War II our countries came into contact very little. It was the Western European powers that were then very active. You know them better, and they know you better.

[Dunayev] And a final question, Senator. Imagine that I am asking you these questions in the middle of the 1990's, in 10 years' time. Will the world be more secure then?

[Fulbright] I hope so. No one can be a prophet, naturally, but if we can bring detente back into being, if we cooperate, then the world will become different. But if we continue doing what has been taking place over the past 5 years, then either war will break out, or we will be become poorer and less confident than we are today. I think that there is understanding of the fact that nuclear war is madness. They will try to avoid pressing the button. The concept of restraint will work, that is certain. Sooner or later the way to avoid war will be found. And indeed now there is a great opportunity for this. The young and energetic leader of the Soviet Union made an excellent statement about his views and intentions in TIME magazine. I watch the Soviet initiatives with hope. All that our President has to do is go to the meeting well prepared, prepared for cooperation, for detente in our relations.

CSO: 1807/19



UNITED STATES AND CANADA

PRAVDA SERIES ON SLAYING OF U.S. PEACE COUNCIL FIGURE

PM200921 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 10, 12, 14 Sep 85

[Three-part article by own correspondent G. Vasilyev: "Three Bullets: The Fate of Rudy Lozano, Human Rights Champion in the United States"]

[10 Sep 85 Second Edition p 5]

[Text] Chicago-Washington--1. A Murder Which Was Hushed Up

There exist people possessed of stupendous fearlessness. At times one might think that they are devoid of a sense of self-preservation which is natural for any living creature and that they are unaware of what fear is. But that is, of course, not the case. The source of bravery for such people is the service of a great cause alongside which a person's own personal fate is something of incomparably less account and is subordinate to this case.

Such a person was Martin Luther King, the remarkable son of black America. Rudy Lozano, a leader of the Hispanic Americans and peace champion, was also such a person. Just like King, 30-year-old Lozano was killed before he really got going, when he was just starting to spread his wings. But as distinct from the remarkable Negro leader, Lozano at that time was known, and let us add, was warmly loved not throughout the country, but only in his native Chicago, and principally in the districts inhabited by peoples who originated from Latin America, the poorest of the poor in that city on the shores of Lake Michigan. And for this reason, this murder was able to be hushed up. The "freedom zealots" from the U.S. Congress and bourgeois press who are so concerned for human rights in countries far away from America's shores, pretended that "nothing special had happened."

....I arrived in Chicago to cover the work of the U.S. Peace Council conference. On the evening before it opened, a rally took place in a local workers' club, a steel foundryman, a housewife, a teacher, a labor union figure, and an unemployed person mounted the platform in that old hall.

The speakers spoke while three cute, swarthy-skinned little boys ran down the gaps between the rows. The oldest looked to be about 8 years old. The youngest about 4 years old. The boys approached the people who were sitting down and asked them to buy circular badges depicting a smiling, mustachioed

man. "Don't spare your money for our daddy," the oldest said, insistently offering the badges.

"They're Rudy Lozano's children," a Chicago friend of mine sitting next to me said. "They are collecting funds for the commission which is seeking an investigation into the circumstances of their father's murder. What, haven't you heard of Rudy Lozano? He was a remarkable man!"

And the next day we were sitting in the hall of the Blackstone Hotel, still redolent of imperial grandeur, where the sessions of the conference of the American peace champions take place, and a dark-eyed beauty, Lupe Lozano, lovely even in her grief, containing her sobs with difficulty was describing her husband:

"Rudy was always a restless man. Like his father he was a steel foundryman. Since his youth he had taken 'other people's business' to his heart and sought to help those who were suffering. Back in school he took part in demonstrations against racism and for equal rights for 'black' and 'colored' Americans. He went to the University of Illinois, which is in Chicago. He wanted to be a doctor. But after 3 years of study he quit university. He told me: 'I can see too much injustice around me. Healing people is a good thing. But I must do something more...'"

The tape turned on my reporter's tape recorder. The woman became increasingly upset as her story came closer to that terrible day. But before reporting what was recorded on the tape, let's look at where Rudy lived, where he struggled, so that Lupe Lozano's story can be better understood.

Some 5 minutes' drive from central Chicago, with its impressive and imposing skyscrapers, and you are in the city's working region, which is called Pilsen. At one time Czechs from what was then the Austro-Hungarian Empire settled here. Then came the Irish who worked in the abattoirs and whose grim life was so eloquently described by Upton Sinclair in his novel "The Jungle." Now Pilsen and the adjacent Little Village region are districts inhabited by poor Latin Americans, mostly of Mexican origin. According to official figures there are 550,000 Hispanics in Chicago. Experts say that in fact there are about 900,000. Those not on the city registers are living here illegally. They are the so-called illegal immigrants, the "undocumented workers." They have been duped by promises of a fairy-tale Eldorado and smuggled across the American-Mexican border and are now being mercilessly exploited.

Jesus Garcia, Rudy Lozano's fellow fighter, is very familiar with life in Chicago's Latin American ghetto.

"A system of modern slavery exists at the enterprises where the illegal immigrants work--all kinds of sweatshops and factories," he says. "By threatening to hand them over to the police if they disobey, their bosses keep these unfortunate people in a state of constant fear. They do what they want with them. There are basements where up to 30 people sleep on the floor in a single room. People are forced to work 60 hours a week. They are paid a pittance."

Someone who had come and heard this story for the first time might think that he was faced with scenes from life at the end of the last century. But this is America today.

And this was the world of profit, cruelty, and inhumanity which Rudy Lozano entered.

The adversary to whom he issued this challenge was powerful, cruel, and unscrupulous. An alliance of grasping businessmen, overt Mafiosi, and corrupt politicians was ready to do anything to preserve its superprofits. And these profits were ensured by the state of semislavery in which "colored" American workers are kept. It was against these "sacred pillars" of the society of profit that Rudy Lozano raised his hand.

Lupe Lozano takes up the story:

"With a group of friends, he began by founding, in southwest Chicago, a branch of 'Casa,' an organization which defends the rights of illegal workers. This took tremendous efforts. They had to rent premises and find volunteer attorneys prepared to defend the rights of the 'undocumented workers' in court. And the main thing--to persuade those cowed people living in constant fear that, by uniting, they could stand up for themselves and their human rights. It was very hard. Rudy was arrested several times. He received death threats, but he did not give in. Once I asked him: 'Aren't you afraid they'll kill you?' He answered: 'You mustn't think about it. After all, I can't abandon the people who trust me...'"

Life is like a rapid stream and when you go in up to the chest you cannot stop. The very logic of the struggle led Rudy Lozano further and further along his thorny path. One of the main reasons why the owners of Mexican restaurants, workshops, and other establishments in this part of Chicago can do as they want is the absence of labor unions at enterprises. The way into these places is barred to labor unions. Barred by the workers' fear of their bosses and often also by the dark figure of a gangster looming at the entrance. Without uniting the workers into labor unions it is impossible to struggle successfully for their rights. Rudy Lozano was well aware of this. And with his loyal comrades he went to the enterprises of the Mexican ghetto to create labor unions there.

[12 Sep 85 Second Edition p 5]

[Text] Chicago-Washington--2. Lozano Enters the Struggle

Anyone crossing 26th Street in southwest Chicago could be entering another world. Everything is gaudy, bright, and noisy in the southern manner. The names of stores, diners, and workshops are in Spanish. Only the names of the banks, as everywhere, are in English.

There on the right is Chicago's well known Mexican diner the Tortilleria del Rey. It has a bright red sign and a facade covered in bright tiles. Most of

the visitors to the restaurant who eat the "tortillas"--flat cakes stuffed with meat and with a hot red pepper sauce--do not guess that the invisible seasoning for the tasty dish is the sweat and often the blood of the people working 10 to 12 hours a day in the company's kitchens.

It was this enterprise that Rudy Lozano and his associates chose as the first target for their efforts to set up labor unions. It was a desperate and fierce struggle. In the Tortilleria there were clashes between workers in favor of the labor union and strikebreakers. The owners of the company resorted to their favorite weapon--they handed over to the police "trouble-makers" from among the workers who had no documents. Rudy Lozano was threatened with reprisals. But he did not deviate from his chosen course. He would go to sleep after midnight and at four in the morning be once again outside the factory-cum-kitchen to see the departing night shift. There was picketing, boycotts, and rallies and the seemingly unassailable enemy wavered. A labor union was set up at the Tortilleria del Rey.

The struggle to create labor unions convinced Lozano that in order to achieve more it is necessary to supplement labor union activity with political activity. But at the time the city's political machine was wholly in the hands of the successors to the late but unforgotten "Chicago boss" Richard Daley Senior--the man who during the 1968 Democratic Convention won renown for his brutal reprisals against the participants in an antiwar demonstration. To all intents and purposes the entire world of the Latin American ghetto lacked a single representative--let alone defender--in either the apparatus of the two parties vying for power or in city hall. Affairs in the city were run by an alliance of corrupt politicians and the mafia. Its unwritten but strictly observed slogan was: "Divide and rule!" Setting the whites against the blacks and the blacks against the Latin Americans, the "city's best people" handled things pretty well.

In 1982, together with comrades from the labor union struggle, Rudy Lozano set up an independent Chicago political organization. Its aim was to unite the poorest Americans--Hispanics, blacks, and whites--involve them in the political process, and seek the election of progressive candidates.

In spring 1983, without giving up his labor union activity, Rudy immersed himself in the city's political life. He was nominated as city council candidate for Chicago's 22d Ward. At the same time he devoted all his energy and passion to the struggle to elect Harold Washington--a black former congressman and a man putting forward a democratic reform program--as mayor of the city. Rudy himself ran, but how could it be called a defeat? He was just 17 votes behind Frank (Stemberk), a stooge of the old forces! And Harold Washington won. He won, and to a considerable extent thanks to the fact that the young activist trusted among the poor was able to deliver to the candidate the votes of hundreds of thousands of Chicagoans of Latin American extraction. It seemed that broad prospects were opening up for Rudy Lozano. It was said that Harold Washington wanted to make him one of his aides.

At that time Rudy was already a member of the U.S. Peace Council board and headed the Chicago committee preparing for a march on Washington under the slogan "For peace, freedom, and social justice!"



Lozano was looking forward and thinking of tomorrow's battles.

His sister Emma Lozano recalls:

"I asked Rudy how he felt after his defeat in the city council elections. He gave me a surprised look. 'What are you talking about,' Rudy asked. 'We didn't lose, we won. Think how many people we mobilized, how many realized that the situation can be changed. No, we were not beaten, we took another step nearer victory...'"

He found genuine happiness in awakening people to a better life and molding oppressed and silent immigrants into people with a sense of their own worth, fighters. And life and the struggle molded him too, turning him into one of the most promising leaders of Hispanic Americans. Nature had been generous to Rudy. He had a clear mind, exceptional organizational abilities, and immense charm.

Lou Montenegro, vice president of the Dressmakers Union, who knew Lozano well, said:

"Yes, no one could run a political campaign like Rudy! There was something about him that made people trust him immediately. He could have been one of the best..."

Could have been... But somewhere in the darkest corners of Chicago his enemies--owners of dens of iniquity, politicians, and gangsters--were plotting, choosing a killer, and naming his fee...

[14 Sep 85 Second Edition p 5]

[Text] Chicago-Washington--3. Shots in the Morning

It cannot be said that Rudy Lozano was unaware of the danger threatening him. There had been warnings. Unambiguous warnings. On one occasion while Rudy was running for city councillor, he was approached in the street by the "bodyguard" of one of his political opponents. "You've got a wife and children, kid," the bandit said, stroking the butt of the gun hanging from his belt. "Do you want me to come and see you at home?"

On another occasion someone telephoned the campaign headquarters of the people's candidate. Jesus Garcia remembers well the voice at the other end: "Lozano must die. He's meddling in affairs that are better left alone."

Americans are told that they live in the most democratic country in the world. "Everyone in our country can say what he likes," they remark and look at you challengingly, as if to say: How are things in your country in this respect? Indeed, bourgeois democracy offers scope for verbal divergence of opinions. As long as "free thinking" does not threaten the foundations of capital. But if the "masters of life" decide that someone or something threatens their vital interests, "free thinkers" are treated mercilessly.

Encouraged by the victories, Rudy Lozano was preparing to scale new heights, while people somewhere were already loading a gun with the bullets meant for him.

"I think Rudy learned something a week or two before his death. Something that alarmed him deeply," Lupe says. "Although he didn't say anything--he probably didn't want to frighten me--I felt he had changed somehow. Rudy was always active, happy, always joking, always singing while he got ready to go to work in the morning. And suddenly he became silent, thoughtful..."

And so it dawned, that terrible morning.

Lupe Lozano recalls:

"It happened on 8 June. It was around 9 in the morning. I was still in bed. Rudy woke me and said he was getting ready to go to headquarters, where they were preparing for the march on Washington. I asked him to wash and dress 2-year-old David, and went back to sleep. Rudy and David went into the kitchen. As I dozed I heard the doorbell. I did not hear the entire conversation, but I remember the caller asking to use our telephone. Then he asked: 'Where's your wife?' This put me on my guard. I started waking up, and felt worried. The man asked to go to the bathroom. A few seconds later he came out again. And he asked again: 'Where's your wife?' Rudy said: 'She's asleep.'

"Then there were three shots. At first I didn't even understand what they were. I thought it was children's firecrackers. Then my younger son started crying. I jumped out of bed, momentarily hesitating at the doorway, afraid to go out. Then I looked in the kitchen and saw Rudy, lying on the floor in a pool of blood, and, next to him, the weeping David..."

Rudy Lozano died instantaneously. One bullet hit him in the head, another punctured his heart, and the third passed through his lungs and was lying on the floor next to his body. Any one of the three shots would probably have been enough to kill a man.

The news of Rudy Lozano's death rocked the Latin American ghetto. Maybe only then did it become clear to everyone how much this remarkable man was loved by the people of Chicago's working districts. For 3 days the house where the murder victim's body was laid out was visited by hundreds and thousands of people--those who knew him, as well as total strangers. Then there was the funeral procession, with thousands of people marching behind the coffin.

About a month later the police arrested someone called Gregory Escobar, an 18-year-old drug addict and a "blood" in one of Chicago's youth gangs. Why would this declassé youth, small fry from the city gutter, decide to kill a popular politician? And was it really he who pulled the trigger of the gun that fired the three fatal bullets? The trial did not provide sensible answers to these questions. The authorities jailed the defendant for 40 years and declared the investigation closed.

But there is weighty evidence pointing to the organizers of the political assassination. Evidence which the FBI and the state prosecutor diligently brushed aside. Someone called Fritz Olvera, a shady character with mafia connections, is living quietly in Chicago. It was established that the assassination was committed with his gun. Olvera himself admitted that he had "loaned" the gun to Escobar, while Escobar stated at his trial that Olvera promised to pay him \$5,000 for Lozano's assassination. Frank (Stemberk), Lozano's opponent in the city elections held shortly beforehand, is also completely safe, although information was received to the effect that the 'contract' for Lozano's assassination was concluded in his office.

Finally, there are two witnesses who, independently of one another, told the authorities that Rudy Lozano's assassination was conceived by rich Chicagoans who were afraid that Lozano's labor union and political activities would undermine their "business." One of them told the press and police that, while in a dark corner of the Tortilleria, he overheard a conversation in the back room. It was a conference between the diner's owner, who was also a drug dealer, a banker whose establishment is famous for "laundering" mafia money, and two hired killers. They were discussing how to "get rid of Lozano."

All this is known to the authorities, it is known to the FBI, and it is known to the police, but it does not make them any more willing to conduct an investigation. The authorities are stubbornly insisting on the "lone killer" story.

In the meantime, people who were involved to a greater or lesser extent in the events of that fatal June morning or were in the vicinity, people who could shed light on the circumstances surrounding Lozano's death, are dying "under mysterious circumstances" in Chicago. Three people who "knew too much" are already dead...

Yes, an ordinary American story. The only thing missing is the traditional "happy end."

CSO: 1807/19

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

TRUD ASSAILS SENATE HEARINGS ON U.S. ROLE IN ILO

Shultz Speech

PM171153 Moscow TRUD in Russian 13 Sep 85 p 1

[TASS report: "For Selfish Aims"]

[Text] Washington, 12 Sep--The United States is not abandoning attempts to impose its will on the ILO and to utilize it for its own mercenary purposes by means of pressure and political maneuvering.

This was demonstrated by the speeches made by Secretary of State G. Shultz and U.S. Labor Secretary W. Brock to the Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources.

As is known, the United States left the ILO in 1977, demonstrating its "dissatisfaction" at its activity aimed at improving workers' working conditions. Seeing that this action resulted merely in a reduction in U.S. prestige and influence, it renewed its ILO membership in 1980.

"We intend to use our influence to introduce further improvements into the ILO's work," Shultz said cynically, making it understood that the United States now sees its main aim in this organization to be that of frustrating the efforts of a number of countries, including the USSR, to improve and democratize its machinery for monitoring the application of international labor standards. However, Washington's claims to the role of ILO "mentor" seem at the very least risible. Unlike many countries, the United States has ratified only 7 of the almost 160 ILO conventions, and these do not include any of the conventions on human rights, freedom of association--that is, the right of workers to join together--or the banning of slave labor. Out of all that organization's members, only El Salvador, where one of the most repressive regimes is in power, has approved fewer conventions than the United States.

The secretary of state was forced to admit that the refusal to ratify these agreements is harming the U.S. efforts as regards the ILO. "Our traditional categorical refusal to ratify the ILO conventions prevents us from spreading our influence," he said. Apparently with a view to rectifying this situation, the administration's representatives proposed that the senators



approve some ILO conventions. Shultz did not conceal here that the White House is interested exclusively in the propaganda aspect of the matter. He made it clear that Congress must not ratify those agreements which could harm entrepreneurs' interests.

#### Further Report

PM201439 Moscow TRUD in Russian 14 Sep 85 p 3

[Own correspondent A. Repin report: "Hypocrisy Acknowledged"]

[Text] Washington--As already reported, hearings have been held in the U.S. Congress Senate Committee on Labor and Human Resources concerning the U.S. position in the ILO and, especially, the prospects for the ratification of ILO conventions. Let us recall that only 7 out of 160 of that organization's conventions have been ratified by the United States.

Setting the tone of the discussion, committee chairman Senator Hatch, well known for his vehement attacks on the American trade union movement, alleged without providing proof that U.S. labor legislation is "the most progressive in the world." He was echoed by Senator Thurmond, who also openly stated that "it is not in the U.S. national interests to ratify ILO conventions containing demands which differ from U.S. legislation."

U.S. Labor Secretary W. Brock, Secretary of State G. Shultz, and AFL-CIO President L. Kirkland went on to deliver lengthy speeches.

They all with one accord expressed satisfaction with the "progress" allegedly achieved in the ILO since the United States returned to that organization in 1980. It emerged from the speakers' wordy remarks that by progress they mean the deepening of the structural and political crisis that has hit the ILO, the opposition in reactionary circles to the demands to restructure the ILO's activity on a democratic and equitable basis, and the obstruction organized against the proposals for the ILO to actively assist working people's struggle for the right to peace and the right to work. Brock and Shultz and Kirkland all noted the ILO, with unconcealed satisfaction, actions against Poland which forced Poland to leave that organization in last November.

It followed from the speakers' remarks that the United States views the ILO primarily as yet another arena of political-ideological confrontation and psychological warfare against the socialist countries and not as a means to international cooperation in the interests of working people. According to Secretary Block, the degree of "Soviet discomfiture" in that organization is an "excellent barometer of the ILO and of U.S. progress in the ILO." For his part, Shultz said bluntly that "now we (the United States) see the ILO in the vanguard of those forces which advance U.S. political interests." And strictly speaking, the hearings in the Senate committee ultimately came down to how to step up U.S. influence in the ILO for those very purposes.

Brock dilated about the fact that, even without ratification of the ILO conventions, U.S. labor legislation is allegedly in line with the principles of that organization. The secretary justified the existing situation on the question of ratification of ILO conventions by reference to the "peculiar federal organization" of his country, which supposedly makes it more difficult to adopt conventions because that signifies some kind of "interference in states' prerogatives." As chairman of the Presidential Committee on ILO Affairs, Secretary Block boasted that, in addition to the seven ILO conventions ratified 10 years ago, the United States was "getting close" to ratifying another two documents--Number 144 (on tripartite consultations between governments, trade unions, and employers); and Number 147 (on working norms and conditions on maritime vessels). Incidentally, of the seven conventions recognized by the United States, six apply to shipping. As for the other ILO conventions, including those on freedom of association and trade union rights, the secretary merely limited himself to a promise "to promote their study and dialogue on prospects for their ratification."

Thus, the head of the department representing the U.S. Government in the ILO acknowledged his reluctance to undertake any real steps in the matter of ratifying the fundamental documents of that international organization.

Secretary of State Shultz advocated ratification of the conventions. But from what positions? He openly emphasized that ratification of the ILO conventions would help to "increase U.S. influence and serve the interests of its foreign policy." "We are frequently openly accused, and not only by our enemies," Shultz said, "for making speeches in defense of the ILO machinery that are morally unjustified and hypocritical, since the United States has not ratified the conventions, and therefore it is subject to that machinery's control to a much lesser degree than other countries." The secretary of state also complained that the U.S. disregard for the ILO conventions "creates a chink in the collective armor" of the Western countries in the ILO and puts a "ready propaganda weapon into the enemy's hands."

Of course, it is a case here not of a "propaganda weapon" but of a real reluctance by U.S. ruling circles to recognize the ILO conventions. In this sense, Shultz' admissions of U.S. hypocrisy are particularly striking.

For his part, AFL-CIO President Kirkland expressed the opinion that, so he believes, in the ILO "the United States is securing greater success in a number of the main elements of U.S. foreign policy than in the United Nations as a whole." And for that reason, he says, the main ILO conventions must be ratified, otherwise the U.S. representatives in that organization will remain in an ambiguous position. The head of the trade union association said that the number of conventions ratified by the United States "is not simply too few--it deserves condemnation." Of the ILO member states which have been in that organization for a comparable time to the United States, only El Salvador has ratified fewer conventions than the United States, he noted.

Kirkland went on to admit that the United States, "which has proclaimed itself to be a champion of human rights, has not ratified a single one of

the main ILO conventions on working people's and trade union rights, including conventions on freedom of association, collective talks, forced labor, and slavery." The real reason for the U.S. refusal to ratify the ILO documents, he said, is not the country's federal state structure but opposition by employers' organizations, because "this would affect certain internal trade union labor standards and norms."

Well, Kirkland's admissions are eloquent enough. However, they appear merely as an effective theatrical gesture, not as evidence of real concern for the interests of U.S. working people. After all, it is well known that in the ILO itself the AFL-CIO representative invariably speaks from the most reactionary positions on virtually all questions concerning the current activity and increased effectiveness of the ILO in defending working people's basic rights and interests.

On the whole the Senate committee hearings showed that the capitalist world's largest country does not wish to associate itself with the international labor standards and norms elaborated in the ILO. U.S. monopoly capital and its authorities prefer to exploit U.S. working people without any restrictions whatever being laid down by an international organization. But, while occupying an obstructionist stance regarding the ILO conventions, the United States nonetheless aspires to increase its influence in that organization. It is appropriate in that connection to quote the words of a Dutch representative on a working people's group at a recent session of the ILO General Conference in Geneva, which the same Kirkland cited in the Senate committee: "How would the ILO and this group appear, if all ILO member countries ignored the ILO conventions following the U.S. example?" It is simply a case of being unable to hide behind somebody else's back the constantly negative line as far as working people are concerned that is pursued in the ILO by the AFL-CIO leaders themselves and their representatives in that organization.

CSO: 1807/19

UNITED STATES AND CANADA

STURUA COMPARES U.S. TO ORWELL, LEWIS CARROLL

PM191036 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 September 1985 Morning Edition carries on page 5 an 1,800-word "pamphlet" by Melor Sturua entitled "'Newspeak' Before and After Breakfast."

Sturua begins by recalling an article he wrote on the eve of 1984 about Orwell's novel and newspeak, and claims that newspeak has become "the completely commonplace language" in Washington today. By way of example, he draws parallels between Orwell's Ministry of Peace and the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, and between his Ministry of Love and the recently established Humanitarian Aid Agency.

As further examples of newspeak in the United States today, Sturua cites a report by ABC-TV's P. Jennings covering the 40th anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima and, turning to President Reagan's recent radio interview remarks on South Africa, imagines how Jennings would cover riots in Soweto. Sturua also mentions the recent appointments of Richard Perle and Kenneth Adelman to the board of the U.S. Peace Institute and of James Miller to the Office of Management and Budget as examples of newspeak.

The author then turns to the "breakfast" of the title, and quotes Senator Charles Mathias' parallel between the six impossible things which Alice was asked to believe in before being served breakfast in Wonderland and the "three impossible things which the administration is asking Congress to believe: That it is conscientiously striving to conclude an agreement on ASAT; that the tests are necessary to prevent obvious and irreparable damage to U.S. national security; and that the tests will not result in any serious deterioration of prospects for future talks on ASAT."

Following a lengthy quotation from NATION by way of "slightly correcting" Senator Mathias' statement, Sturua concludes:

"But the world public is not like Alice in Carroll's tales. It is becoming increasingly hard to serve it with breakfasts of Washington 'newspeak.' People refuse to believe the 'six impossible things' which present black as white. This is a luxury they cannot afford. Alice lived in the land of magical mirrors, but they actually live in the age of laser mirrors."

CSO: 1807/19



WESTERN EUROPE

UK-USSR AGREEMENT IN SCIENCE, EDUCATION, CULTURE FOR 1985-1987

Moscow SOBRANIYE POSTANOVLENIY PRAVITELSTVA SSSR in Russian No 10, 1985  
pp 138-152

[Agreement between the government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on contacts in science, education and culture for 1985-1987]

[Text] The government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland,

being persuaded as to the important role of exchanges in science, education and culture between the peoples of both countries as a means of further developing mutual understanding and trust through fuller mutual acquaintance with accomplishments in all of these areas of activity,

recognizing the positive significance of exchanges which occurred between the two countries on the basis of the Agreement Between the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland on Contacts in Science, Education and Culture for 1983-1985, signed 3 March 1983 in London,

and referencing the principles, provisions and goals spelled out in the Concluding Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe,

have agreed to the following:

Article I

1. Visits and exchanges foreseen by this Agreement will be in accordance with the laws and rules effective respectively in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and the United Kingdom. Within this framework the Parties will do everything within their power to insure maximally favorable conditions for such visits and exchanges.
2. Visits and exchanges foreseen by the Agreement do not preclude other visits and exchanges that may be organized by the Parties or undertaken by organizations, groups and individual citizens of either country.
3. Both Parties are entitled to include interpreters or representatives of their embassies in their delegations, within the limits of the stipulated

delegation size. The number of interpreters or embassy representatives in each delegation must be coordinated beforehand by the Parties.

4. With the exception of cases otherwise foreseen in the Agreement, and those cases where a special mutual agreement exists, delegations and individuals traveling to a country in accordance with this Agreement are in themselves responsible for all expenses, including the cost of travel between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom, travel within the country, and expenses of staying in the host country.

5. Exchanges of people in the established quantities depend on presence of a sufficient number of suitable candidates.

## Article II. Exchanges in Science

1. The Parties will promote development of mutually coordinated scientific exchanges and cooperation between scientists of the USSR and the United Kingdom on the basis of the Agreement on Scientific Cooperation and Exchange of Scientists Between the Academies of Sciences of the USSR and the London Royal Society dated 21 September 1977, and they will undertake the necessary measures to encourage such exchanges and cooperation.

2. Moreover the Parties will promote trips by scientists and specialists on a reciprocal basis with the purpose of conducting scientific research and gaining an acquaintance with the work of scientific research institutions, on the condition that all expenses of such trips are borne by the sending Party.

3. The Parties will promote development of exchanges and cooperation between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the British Academy on the basis of an agreement signed between them on exchange of scientists in the humanities and social sciences, which went into effect 1 April 1977.

4. Besides, in cases where trips are organized directly between the USSR Academy of Sciences and the Royal Society of London or the British Academy, coordination on the trips mentioned above will be effected between the USSR Academy of Sciences on one hand and the British Council and any other appropriate organizations and institutions of the United Kingdom on the other.

5. The USSR Academy of Sciences on one hand and the Royal Society of London, the British Academy and the British Council on the other will, to the extent possible, promote visits by scientists to institutes and scientific research institutions outside of their jurisdiction.

6. The Parties will promote invitation of individual scientists from one country to participate in national scientific symposiums, conferences and congresses of the other country, and they will promptly inform one another of such measures.

7. The Parties will promote visits by scientists invited by the Academy of Sciences, the All-Union "Znaniye" Society or other appropriate Soviet organizations on one hand and by the Royal Society of London, the British Academy, the British Council or English universities on the other with the purpose of conducting research or acquainting themselves with scientific work in the other country.

8. The Parties will encourage establishment and development of scientific cooperation and direct contacts between their institutions and scientists, and they will assist in exchange of scientific publications and information.

### Article III. Exchanges of Specialists in Fields Other Than the Natural Sciences

1. The Parties will encourage and promote mutually coordinated business trips to the corresponding countries by specialists in fields other than the natural sciences, to include writers, journalists, librarians, archivists and specialists in humanitarian and social sciences, geography, archeology, urban planning, architecture and publishing. The appropriate Soviet organizations on one hand and the British Council, British Academy and other appropriate English organizations on the other will coordinate organization of these trips.

2. During the period in which the Agreement is to be in effect, the following trips and exchanges will occur, with the host Party paying the expenses of the participants of the exchange during their presence in that country, and with the cost of the round trip paid for by the sending Party:

a) in the course of 1 year of the Agreement's effective period--an exchange of up to three specialists in the humanitarian and social sciences for a period of not less than 2 weeks, for a total volume of up to 6 man-weeks; in this case agreement must be reached between the USSR Academy of Sciences, the All-Union "Znaniye" Society and other appropriate Soviet organizations on one hand and the British Council on the other;

b) in the course of 1 year of the Agreement's effective period--an exchange of up to three specialists in urban planning, architecture and civil engineering, for a total volume of up to 6 man-weeks; in this case agreement must be reached between the State Committee for Civil Engineering and Architecture of the USSR Gosstroy and other appropriate organizations, within the limits of their competency, on one hand and the British Council on the other;

c) during the Agreement's effective period--exchange of delegations of architects of up to three persons for a period of up to 10 days, for the purposes of acquainting themselves with architectural and construction practice and, when mutual agreement exists, giving lectures and exchanging exhibitions; in this case agreement must be reached between the USSR Society of Architects and the British Council, upon coordination with the Royal Institute of British Architects;

d) in the course of each year during which the Agreement is in effect, an exchange of delegations of up to three persons is to be held, with a total volume of up to 6 man-weeks, for participation in national literature seminars and literature discussions; of one writer for a period of up to 1 month; in this case agreement must be reached between the USSR Writers' Union on one hand and the British Council and other appropriate organizations on the other;

e) in the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period, up to 10 citizens of each country may visit the other country, when invited to do

so by the host Party and with the consent of the sending Party, for meetings with persons of similar occupations. Invitations from the English side will originate with the British Council.

#### Article IV. Exchanges in Agriculture, Oceanography and Fisheries

##### 1). Agriculture

a) In the course of each year of this Agreement's effective period, an exchange of up to four specialists or three delegations with a total number of up to six specialists in agriculture and associated fields will be held, for a total volume of up to 12 man-weeks. This exchange will be conducted with the host Party paying the expenses of the participants of the exchange during their presence in that country, and with the cost of the round trip paid for by the sending Party. The exchange will be organized in the Soviet Union by the USSR Ministry of Agriculture and in the United Kingdom by the British Council, jointly with appropriate English organizations and government institutions;

b) moreover the Parties will promote visits by specialists in agriculture and associated fields at the expense of the sending Party;

c) the USSR Ministry of Agriculture on one hand and the British Council together with the appropriate English organizations and government institutions on the other hand will, to the extent possible, promote visits to other organizations outside their jurisdiction.

##### 2). Oceanography and Fisheries

a) The Parties will encourage cooperation between the appropriate Soviet and English ministries, institutions and specialists, and promote the conduct of joint scientific research on problems of mutual interest;

b) in the course of each year of this Agreement's effective period, an exchange of specialists in fisheries, one from each Party for a period of up to 3 weeks, will occur. This exchange will be conducted with the host Party paying the expenses of the participants of the exchange during their presence in that country, and with the cost of the round trip paid for by the sending Party. The exchange will be organized by the USSR Ministry of Fish Industry on one hand and the British Council and other appropriate organizations and government institutions in the United Kingdom on the other.

#### Article V. Exchanges in Higher and Secondary Special Education

1. Exchanges and visits in higher education will be conducted on the condition that the host Party pays the expenses associated with the stay of the exchange participants in the countries, while the sending Party pays for their round trip, except in exchanges foreseen by paragraphs 5 and 6 of this article.

2. In the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period, the following exchanges will be conducted:



- a) exchange of professors and other senior scientific associates between Soviet and English universities and other institutions of higher education, up to 10 persons from each Party, for a period of not less than 2 weeks, in order to establish scientific contacts or to give lectures, for a total volume of up to 12 man-weeks;
- b) exchange of professors and other senior scientific associates, of up to three persons from each Party between Soviet and English universities and other institutions of higher education, for a period of not less than 2 months and a total volume of up to 10 man-months, in order to give lecture courses in the humanitarian and social sciences, the natural and technical sciences, languages, literature, linguistics and education;
- c) exchange of instructors, up to 12 persons, for a period of 1 school year (10 months), in order to render assistance in instruction of English and Russian languages and literature, correspondingly in institutions of higher education of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the United Kingdom, and in order to conduct practical lessons with students;
- d) exchange of young scientific workers and graduate students for scientific apprenticeship and training in the humanitarian, social, natural, technical and agricultural sciences and pedagogics, for a period of 1 school year (10 months) or for 2 to 10 months: from the Soviet side--up to 45 persons for a total exchange of not more than 360 man-months, and from the English side--up to 30 persons with a total volume not exceeding 212 man-months, to include exchange of trainees in different fields of art for apprenticeship in the appropriate cultural institutions and schools;
- e) exchange of students and instructors in language courses organized in the following manner: The English side will send two groups of students of eight persons each for a period of 3 months each and one group of 38 students for a period of 10 months to the Soviet Union in order to improve their knowledge of Russian. The total quota will be 668 man-months for the English side.

The Soviet side will send three groups of students and young English language instructors of 32 persons each for a period of 3 months each, two groups of English language instructors consisting of 24 persons for a period of 4 months each and one group of 40 English language instructors from institutions of higher education for a period of 1 month to the United Kingdom in order to improve their knowledge of the English language. The total quota will be 520 man-months for the Soviet side.

Moreover each Party may send instructors at its own expense for short visits with their groups, for a maximum of up to three visits or a total of 6 man-weeks.

3. During the Agreement's effective period the Parties will exchange delegations consisting of up to three persons each for a total volume of up to 12 man-weeks in order to acquaint themselves with individual aspects of higher education. The subject matter, participants and times of stay for each delegation will be coordinated between competent organizations of the two Parties.

4. During each year that the Agreement is in effect, mutual exchange of up to 20 instructors from universities and other institutions of higher education will be conducted for a period of not less than 1 month, for a total volume of up to 30 man-months in order to conduct research in the humanitarian, social, natural, technical and agricultural sciences.

5. Each Party will examine in good faith the proposals of the other Party for visits (as a rule not exceeding 15 days), at the expense of the sending Party, by specialists in higher education wishing to acquaint themselves with the training of scientific and technical personnel and with other aspects of higher education in the host country.

6. The Parties will encourage continuation of existing direct contacts and ties between universities and other institutions of higher education and between specialists in higher education and science, and establishment of new contacts, including ones created through USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education programs and through the Scientific Liaison Program of the British Council. They will promote exchanges of professors, scientists and other specialists between universities and other institutions of higher education with the purpose of mutually familiarizing themselves with institutions of higher education, giving lectures, and exchanging experience in educational and scientific work. They will also promote exchanges of students with the purpose of studying languages, and familiarization visits for the organizers of such exchanges.

7. The USSR Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education on one hand and the British Council will, to the extent possible, promote visits to other institutions outside their jurisdiction.

8. The Parties will encourage wider study of languages and literatures of the corresponding countries as an important means of communication between the peoples of both countries, mutual acquaintance with the culture of each country and reinforcement of cooperation.

With this purpose:

a) The Parties will cooperate in organizing seminars in Russian language and literature and in English language and literature, and the details of these measures will be coordinated between the appropriate organizations of both Parties;

b) the Parties will promote exchange of specialists in languages and literature in order to give lectures and conduct seminars, and they will also encourage joint preparation of language textbooks and other training materials by interested organizations;

c) as a supplement to exchange of students for the purposes of language studies foreseen by other articles of this Agreement, the Parties will promote, with regard for transactions between the Student Committee for Russian Language Studies and the Russian Language Institute imeni A. S. Pushkin, enrollment of students in other courses to study Russian and English languages, with the sending Party paying all expenses;

d) the Parties will assist in gaining invitations for individual scientists and specialists in language instruction for participation in national conferences, and they will inform one another of such measures beforehand.

9. The Parties will continue examining possibilities for consultation on problems concerned with the equivalency of educational documents, academic degrees and titles.

#### Article VI. Exchanges in Public and Vocational-Technical Education

1. Exchanges in public and vocational-technical education will be conducted on the condition that the host Party will pay the expenses of participants of the exchange during their stay in the country, and the sending Party will pay the cost of their round trip, except for visits foreseen by paragraphs 6 and 11 of this article.

2. In the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period the following exchanges will be conducted:

a) an exchange between two groups of students from pedagogical institutes and faculties of each Party, totaling up to 20 and 25 persons, for a period of 30 days each, with the purpose of improving their knowledge of English and Russian respectively, and acquainting themselves with the life and culture of the other country; in certain cases instructors who had recently graduated from institutes may be participants of exchanges;

b) exchange of groups of English language instructors from Soviet schools and pedagogical institutes and Russian language instructors from English schools and institutions of higher education in the following amounts: from the Soviet side--up to 35 persons, for a period of 25 days; from the English side--up to 25 persons, for a period of 35 days, in order to improve their knowledge of the language and instruction methods in specially organized courses, and in order to acquaint themselves with the life and culture of the other country.

3. During the Agreement's effective period there would be an exchange of delegations of specialists in public education on an approved topic totaling up to four persons for a period of 2 weeks.

4. During each year of the Agreement's effective period a mutual exchange will be conducted between specialists in pedagogics in order to conduct research on approved subject matter, totaling up to four persons for a period of up to 2 months each.

5. The Parties will develop exchanges of training, pedagogical and methodological literature, films and other materials, and they will promote exchange of specialists and the conduct of seminars on approved subject matter, to include the use of computers in the educational system, and the content of school textbooks.

6. The Parties will encourage establishment of direct contacts and ties between educational institutions of both countries, chiefly vocational-technical and

higher institutions, and exchange of students with the purpose of studying the language, to include preliminary visits to establish such contacts and exchanges. They will also promote exchange of instructors and scientists with the purpose of mutual familiarization with the educational systems of each country and its languages, and in order to exchange experience in educational, research and practical work.

7. The Parties will encourage exchanges of Russian and English language teachers in order to conduct practical lessons in secondary schools of the USSR and the United Kingdom, for a total of up to three persons for a period of up to 3 months.

8. The Parties will promote exchanges of groups of secondary school students under the sponsorship of nongovernment organizations of both countries.

9. In the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period the Parties will exchange Russian and English language teachers, up to three persons from each Party, for a period of 1 school year.

In the United Kingdom, Soviet teachers will work in schools that offer Russian language, and in the Soviet Union, English teachers will teach English in pedagogical institutes.

On the English side, exchange will be organized by the Central Bureau of Visits and Exchanges in Education, while on the Soviet side, exchange will be organized by the USSR Ministry of Education.

10. In the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period, there will be an exchange of two specialists for a period of up to 2 weeks in order to acquaint themselves with aspects of organization of vocational-technical education and the training of qualified workers for different sectors of industry and agriculture. The program and the subject matter of the exchange will be coordinated between competent organizations of the two Parties.

11. Each Party will favorably examine proposals of the other Party for visits of specialists in public and vocational-technical education at the sending Party's expense.

#### Article VII. Exchanges in Medicine

1. The Parties will promote exchange of delegations and individual specialists in medicine and associated fields in accordance with existing agreements. Such trips will be organized in the Soviet Union by the USSR Ministry of Public Health and by other appropriate organizations, and in the United Kingdom by the British Council jointly with the appropriate English organizations and government institutions.

2. Each Party will favorably examine proposals of the other Party for other trips by specialists in medicine.

3. The Parties agree to encourage exchanges of books, publications, periodicals and other documents in medicine between the libraries and other appropriate institutions of the two countries.



## Article VIII. Exchanges in Art

1. The Parties will promote performances and tours by theater, opera, ballet, dance and circus collectives and groups, orchestras, groups of musicians, conductors and soloists of one country in the other. These performances and tours will be conducted on the condition that mutually approved contracts will be signed between concert organizations on the Soviet side and financially responsible organizations or impresarios on the English side. The Parties will do everything within their power to ensure maximally favorable conditions for tours and performances by visiting performing collectives or soloists.

The Parties will express interest in organizing festivals devoted to the arts of the other country, and they have agreed to promote the conduct of such festivals.

2. The Parties will inform one another about forthcoming important measures, and they will encourage their organizers to send invitations to performers and performing collectives (both professional and amateur), and to institutions of fine arts for participation in national and international congresses, festivals and other measures pertaining to culture and art.

3. The Parties will promote organization and conduct of art and culture exhibitions in their countries on the basis of approved conditions.

4. In the course of each year of the Agreement's effective period, there will be an exchange of specialists in art, art history, music, including composers, and library affairs, for a total of up to six persons and a total volume of up to 12 man-weeks. This exchange will be conducted with the host Party paying the expenses of the participant of the exchange during his presence in that country, and with the cost of the round trip paid for by the sending Party. The exchange will be carried out by the USSR Ministry of Culture and by the appropriate creative unions on one hand, and by the British Council on the other.

5. The Parties will encourage the staging of the works of authors and composers of the other country in the theaters of their countries, and exchange of producers, artists and conductors in order to provide assistance in staging these works, on the basis of additionally approved conditions.

6. Exchange of trainees in art is foreseen in Article V, Paragraph 2d of this Agreement.

7. The Parties will encourage development of direct contacts and cooperation between museums, galleries and libraries of both countries, they will promote exchanges of exhibitions, and they will make individual items available for exhibitions. The Parties will render maximum assistance in conducting these exchanges, and they express the certainty that such exchanges will be of mutual benefit.

8. The Parties will encourage and promote mutually approved trips to their respective countries by literary, theatrical and musical critics, composers,

choreographers and other persons involved in the performing and fine arts, museum curators and librarians.

9. The Parties will promote exchange of publications, materials and information in culture and art.

10. The preceding paragraphs of this article do not exclude other exchanges in the performing and fine arts, including exhibitions and colloquia, with the purpose of gaining better mutual familiarization with the cultural life of both countries, which will be an object of direct agreement between the appropriate English and Soviet official departments and commercial and other organizations.

#### Article IX. Film, Television and Radio

Recognizing the contribution that has been made and can be made by cinematography, television and radio to mutual understanding, the Parties have agreed:

##### 1. In film

a) to promote further widening of film exchange on a commercial and a non-commercial basis. With this purpose they will encourage the appropriate organizations of their motion picture industry to jointly examine the means of widening purchases of films that may be of interest to film audiences of their countries, and of insuring the most effective runs of such films;

b) to encourage premieres and retrospectives of Soviet films in the United Kingdom and of English films in the Soviet Union, taking into account the fact that expansion of film purchases would increase the possibilities for such measures;

c) to encourage exchange of film weeks and similar measures with attendant delegations;

d) to promote contacts between the motion picture organizations of the two countries, and to encourage exchange of officials and specialists in motion picture industry and filming technology, and joint motion picture production and the rendering of services in production and creativity;

e) to encourage participation in international film festivals conducted in their countries.

##### 2. In television and radio

To encourage direct cooperation between television and radio organizations of both countries, and exchange of television and radio programs and trips by delegations and individual specialists in television and radio broadcasting.

**Article X. Cooperation in Information, Publishing, Copyrights, Archives and Exhibitions**

1. The Parties agree to encourage gifts and exchanges of books, publications, periodicals, audio-visual aids and other documentary materials of academic, scientific, technical and cultural nature between libraries and other appropriate institutions of the two countries.
2. The Parties will encourage cooperation in publishing and in exchange of book exhibitions in accordance with existing agreements signed between the USSR State Committee for Publishing Houses, Printing Plants and the Book Trade on one hand and the Publishers' Association of Great Britain and the British Council on the other and other agreements that are presently in effect or which may be signed between competent organizations of both countries.
3. The parties will encourage further development of cooperation between competent organizations and publishing houses of both countries for the purposes of ensuring mutual protection of copyrights and wider familiarization with the scientific, literary and artistic works of Soviet and English authors correspondingly in the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.
4. The Parties agree to encourage development of contacts between archival institutions in the USSR and the United Kingdom in accordance with the existing agreement between the Main Archives Administration of the USSR Council of Ministers and the British Academy's Committee for Liaison with Soviet Archives (BALSA), and in accordance with other agreements that may be signed between competent organizations of both countries.

**Article XI. Exchanges Between Nongovernment Organizations and Youth**

1. Attaching great significance to acquainting their people with the life and activities of one another and to mutual understanding between them, the Parties will encourage ties between nongovernment organizations, including trade union, youth, student and women's organizations of the Soviet Union and the United Kingdom, and especially those organizations which promote development of cultural ties and friendly relations between the public and the people of both countries, and which would render assistance in development of contacts between Soviet and English cities.
2. The Parties will promote agreement on exchange trips by groups of young people on a mutually acceptable basis providing them a possibility for meeting young people in the host country and acquainting themselves with their work, study and social life. As in previous years, the details of the exchanges will be discussed directly between youth and student organizations of the Soviet Union and national youth and student organizations of the United Kingdom.

**Article XII. Sports**

The Parties will encourage further development and expansion of contacts, cooperation and exchanges in physical culture and sports between organizations of the two countries in accordance with existing agreements.

Article XIII. Tourism

The Parties will promote development of tourist exchange between the two countries, encouraging visits to their corresponding countries by as large as possible a number of tourists, and trips and contacts established with the purpose of achieving fuller acquaintance with the life, labor and culture of both peoples.

Article XIV. Effective Date

This Agreement will go into effect on 1 April 1985, and it will remain in effect until 31 March 1987. Each year of the Agreement's effective period extends from 1 April to 31 March.

Certifying the above, the undersigned, appropriately empowered by their corresponding governments, signed this Agreement.

Executed in Moscow, 25 March 1985, in two copies, each in Russian and in English, with both texts having identical force.

For the government  
of the Union of Soviet  
Socialists Republics

A. G. Kovalev

For the government  
of the United Kingdom of  
Great Britain and Northern Ireland

I. Southerland

11004

CSO: 1807/498



WESTERN EUROPE

PORTUGAL IN MIDST OF 'GOVERNMENTAL CRISIS'

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 25, Jun 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Valeriy Volkov, PRAVDA correspondent in Portugal: "Portugal: 'Counterreforms', Reaction, and the Struggle in Defense of Democracy"]

[Text] The governmental crisis continues in Portugal. The leadership of the Social Democratic Party, which formed a ruling coalition with the Socialist Party two years ago, has announced its departure from the government. While the presently-collapsed coalition was in power, the economic situation in the country became much worse, and the political situation has become much more acute. The working people are speaking out more and more boldly and decisively against the antidemocratic reforms and the general policy on liquidating the fundamental gains of the April Revolution. "The law-governed ignominious end of the coalition, and the resignation of the government, inevitable under these conditions," stressed the statement of the Political Commission of the Portuguese Communist Party "is a very positive event in the life of Portugal, and represents a major victory for the workers, for the forces of democracy, and for the entire nation."

At 6:00 PM on 4 June, several columns of many thousands of people from various parts of the city began to converge on the Sao Bento Palace, where the Assembly of the Republic--the Portuguese parliament--sits. Mounting the central forum were the leaders of the country's largest trade union association--The General Confederation of Portuguese Workers - National Inter-syndicate CGTP/IN. Amplified by a microphone, the speeches of the orators were audible in the neighboring streets. Dozens of times the square exploded with ovations in response to the summons: "No antilabor legislation!"; "Let us defend the state sector!"; "Hands off agrarian reform!"; and "We demand the government step down!" The Day of Protest, which was held throughout the country and involved more than a million people, concluded with this grand protest.

On the very same day, A. Cavaco Silva, recently elected leader of the Social Democratic Party (SDP) visited the President of the country, Antonio dos Santos Ramalho Eanes, and Prime Minister Mario Soares. Both audiences were extremely short. The SDP leader declared that the Political Commission of his party had made the decision to withdraw from the coalition government. And Portugal was plunged into a new governmental crisis.

They managed to report on this at the meeting in the square at the Sao Bento palace, which had not yet ended.

On the platform was Jose Ernesto Cartaso, a member of the CGTP/IN Executive Committee. Reporting on the collapse of the ruling coalition, he said: "The collapse of the government is primarily a reflection of that irreconcilable struggle which the workers have been waging against the offensive begun by the forces of reaction. The numerous strikes, meetings and manifestations have become a powerful weapon for the working class in its struggle against an antinational policy. The current Day of Protest has borne witness to the unity and solidarity, the militancy and the scope of the class struggle. Today we can say that the workers of Portugal have done their duty, and they deserve to be shown a way out of the cul-de-sac into which their hack politicians have led them."

The last words of the orator were drowned in a mighty ovation. Hand-made placards appeared in the crowd of many thousands: "We've won!"; and "The people have the final word!".

"The disintegration of the coalition and the collapse of the SP-SPD government," it states in the declaration of the Political Commission of the Portuguese Communist Party (PCP), "were brought about primarily by the total failure of the government's policy and its absolute inability to solve the country's problems--and as a result of the mighty struggle of the people over the last two years." The only proper constitutional way out of the crisis which has been created, according to the communists, should be the immediate withdrawal of the head of state and the ruling cabinet, the dissolution of the Assembly of the Republic, and the holding of early parliamentary elections. PCP General Secretary A. Cunhal explained this point of view to the President of the country, who has begun the process of consultations with the leaders of the political parties.

#### The Growth of General Dissatisfaction

The decision of the SDP leadership to abrogate the agreement signed just two years ago with the Socialist Party (SP) for the purpose of forming a coalition government, although it gave rise to lively discussion, did not especially surprise anyone. The logical crash of the "central bloc" was predetermined by a number of factors. The bourgeois press, commenting on the disintegration of the coalition, stresses the rise of interparty conflicts on the questions of agrarian reform and on making labor legislation more strict. However, many attribute the collapse of the ninth straight constitutional government formed after the 1974 April Revolution to other reasons. The instability of the coalition consisted primarily of the fact that it was based not upon programmed agreements, but on temporary

compromise. Once in power, the partners occupied themselves with political maneuvering for their own benefit. But the stumbling block, as they believe here, was the sharp struggle of the leaders of both parties on the matter of candidacy for the post of President of the country in this year's coming elections. And the main reason for the collapse was the inability to overcome the severe socio-economic crisis which Portugal was undergoing. In spite of the "socialist" and "social-democratic" labels, the government headed by Mario Soares conducted a policy openly subservient to the interests of major capital. In fact it was following the anti-popular course of the preceding cabinets of the bloc of rightist parties.

It is profoundly symbolic that the first report of the disintegration of the coalition was made on the square in front of the Sao Bento palace, at the mass meeting which concluded the national Day of Protest, held under the slogan: "For a new government and a new policy!" Taking part in it were transportation workers, who had declared a 24-hour strike, as well as workers at metallurgical, chemical, electrotechnical and shipbuilding enterprises, and a number of other branches.

Characteristically, Portugal's Council of Ministers was quick to declare that the Day of Protest on 4 June "did not succeed". The government's evaluation was so lacking in objectivity that we, a large group of Portuguese and foreign journalists, could not believe our own eyes.

Early that morning we visited the southern suburbs of Lisbon. Ordinarily bustling and filled with working people at that time, the streets of Almada were empty. The gates to the largest wharves in the country, the Lisnave, were shut tight. Over them was a huge banner: "We are on strike!"

"No one has come to work," said a representative of the administration whom we encountered, as he disappeared behind a door. My colleague from the newspaper NEUES DEUTSCHLAND jotted down in his notebook--6,000 persons; yes, that is precisely the number of workers employed at Lisnave.

#### The Day of Protest - A Serious Warning to the Forces of the Right

The next stop was at the gates of the Parri wharves. Here we were met by a picketing worker. Ruddy, with a face strewn with large freckles, outwardly by no means resembling a Portuguese, Francisco Sousa is a representative of a workers' commission. He's been working on the wharves for over 40 years, and he cannot recall a time when relations between the bosses and the workers were so strained.

"What are the reasons? I'll cite but one instance," says Sousa. "For 15 months now, the majority of the 625 workers employed on the wharves have not received their wages. The bosses cite their financial difficulties. But we know that's not where the problem is. Last year they attempted to fire 400 persons all at once. We declared a strike in protest. The bosses backed down, but in retaliation stopped paying wages. Since March of last year not one of us has received a single escudo, although we regularly show up for

work. We don't know what would have happened to us if it had not been for worker solidarity. Now I hope you understand why we unanimously supported today's Day of Protest."

"The government is doing everything possible to deprive our enterprise of orders, because it belongs to the state sector," we were told by Jorge Silva, a trade union leader at the Sorefame plant which lies next to the wharves. "Our plant is the only enterprise in the country which can produce equipment for oil refineries, metal framework for bridges, and other production for heavy machine building. But someone wants the plant to be declared unprofitable, and then put it into private hands. These gentlemen fail to take into consideration only one factor--after the April 1974 revolution, the time when they could throw their weight around came to an end. All of us are standing up as one man in defense of our enterprise, and we will not permit it to become denationalised."

On ordinary days the thick plume of smoke from the plant smokestacks at the Seixal metallurgical combine can be seen from afar off. But on 4 June all work at this major enterprise of the metallurgical branch of industry, at which about 5,000 persons are employed, came to a total halt.

"We supported the initiative of the CGTP/IN on holding a Day of Protest, because almost every day we come up against scandalous inequities. Not long ago the administration fired three trade union activists who led a strike by the metallurgists last year, and 400 workers were fined large sums for taking part in the strikes. This was outright tyranny. But the ruling circles are going farther--they are now trying to deprive us of the right to strike in general. A whole series of draft legislation has been worked out for that purpose. Can we remain silent, when storm clouds are gathering over the freedoms which we won in a difficult struggle?"

After the meeting at the Sao Bento palace we drove to the headquarters of the CGTP/IN where we received reports from all corners of the land on participation in the Day of Protest.

On the table of Alvaro Rana, a member of the executive committee of the Intersyndicate, lay brief reports. Information on strikes, meetings and street demonstrations in which hundreds of thousands of workers took part, had come in from Porto and Beja, from Braga and Evora, from Guarda and Santarem, from Faro and Marine Grande, and from other cities and populated places of the country.

"Holding a Day of Protest," said A. Rana, "was a logical consequence of the general dissatisfaction with the policies of the ruling circles, which has been increasing in recent months. This demonstration, held under a slogan demanding the immediate retirement of the government, should serve as a serious warning to those who want to resurrect in Portugal the unlimited power of the monopolies and landed estates, and return to the system which existed prior to 25 April 1974."



It has been ten years since I first became acquainted with Alvaro Rana in Lisbon.

"Then the workers greeted warmly the measures of the revolutionary authorities--nationalization of the banks, insurance companies and the major industrial enterprises, which had belonged to monopolistic associations," recalls Rana. "The power engineering, petroleum, mining, chemical, metallurgical, shipbuilding, and other branches of industry, became part of the state sector. And the living standards of the workers improved markedly, especially for those of the least well-to-do strata. In a year and a half, 500 agricultural production cooperatives and collective estates had been set up, which possessed 1,170,000 hectares of land. And how can one forget the joyful, exciting atmosphere surrounding the first free elections held since the destruction of fascism, as the result of which the Constituent Assembly of the Republic was elected! The first democratic constitution in the history of the country, adopted 25 April 1976, consolidated the basic gains of the revolution--nationalization, agrarian reform, and the democratic rights of the workers. The ten years which followed did not pass without a trace, and the forces of the right set themselves the goal of restoring the previous order; one after another they dealt blows to the nationalized enterprises, to agrarian reform, and to the democratic rights of the workers. The activities of the internal counterrevolution were closely coordinated in a conspiracy of the imperialist circles of NATO and above all the USA, which tried with all its might to snuff out the 'revolution of the carnations.' Transnational corporations withdrew their capital investments from the country's economy, artificially stimulating the growth of unemployment; international currency organizations refused credits and loans to Portugal; Portuguese products became more expensive on Western European markets by the imposition of additional customs duties, in order to limit the already meager exports. Wine, cork, fabrics, and other products which had been previously supplied to Western Europe and the USA ceased to be purchased from Portugal."

"The attacks of major capital became especially intense with the coming to power of the government of the so-called 'democratic alliance,' which consisted of a coalition of rightist parties. The forces of reaction managed to shove through parliament a new version of the Constitution of 1976, from which certain guarantees of democratic freedoms were withdrawn; the power of the president was limited; and the Council of the Revolution--the guarantee of faithfulness to the ideals of 25 April--was abolished. A number of the nationalized enterprises were returned to their previous owners, and more than 700,000 hectares of land were restored to the landowners, as a result of which many of the cooperatives ceased to exist. And this policy was also followed by the government of the Socialists and Social Democrats."

#### The Impasse of "Strict Economies"

Recently there was a stormy debate in Parliament on proposed legislation which would radically worsen the situation of the majority of the country's populace--revising the law to increase the costs of housing.

On that evening the ordinarily half-empty chambers reminded one of an angry hive of bees. The orators, in their unrestrained remarks, accused one another of inconsistency, of violating party discipline, and other mortal sins. No one was left indifferent in the debate on the bill to change rent payments for housing. The government's proposal caused sharp protests even on the part of certain deputies in the ruling coalition who realistically grasped the difficult material situation of the majority of the Portuguese. During those hours a meeting took place on the square beyond the walls of Parliament. The crowd which gathered there demanded the law not be passed. After the meeting a group of five persons set off for the palace to present the chairman of the Parliament the text of a unanimously-adopted resolution against the bill.

"The ninth constitutional government of Portugal, enjoying an absolute majority of votes in Parliament, waged a genuine offensive against the gains of the April Revolution," said Carlos Brito, leader of a parliamentary group of communists, member of the Political Commission of the PCP, at a press conference. "This 'central bloc,' as it is called, created on the basis of a governmental and parliamentary agreement between the Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party, is flouting in the most brazen manner the will of the voters, and particularly those who cast their votes for the Socialists at the special parliamentary elections held more than two years ago. The overwhelming majority of the voters spoke out against the right and its policy, and for removing the reactionary parties from the government. However, Socialist Party General Secretary Mario Soares and other socialist leaders once again brought to the executive organs of power representatives of the SDP--the main party of the reactionary coalition of the 'democratic alliance,' whose crushing defeat in the elections reflected the dissatisfaction of the people with the ruinous consequences of its three-year control of the country."

The fact of the matter is that the Socialist Party itself waged an election campaign in 1983 under slogans of a struggle with the reactionary coalition. Thanks to this it was able to attract to its side a significant portion of the people, who were outraged with the policy of the "democratic alliance." And nevertheless, the government which was formed basically repeated the bankrupt policy of the "democratic alliance."

The coalition of the Socialists and Social Democrats not only continued the policy of the "democratic alliance," but in certain respects was more active in its offensive against nationalization and agrarian reform, in attempting to limit the democratic rights and make the workers' struggle against the exploiting policy of the owners more difficult. Having granted access of major local and foreign capital to the banking business and the insurance system, where according to the Constitution private initiative was forbidden, the government was simultaneously trying to forbid holding strikes.

All measures of the so-called policy of "strict economies" were ostensibly taken for the purpose of overcoming the profound socio-economic crisis which Portugal is going through. However, in fact no significant changes for the better took place whatsoever. Inflation continues to grow, foreign debt has

reached 15 billion dollars, and retail prices are rising for food products and basic necessities. The army of the unemployed, according to information from the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers--National Intersyndicate, has reached 700,000 persons.

#### Heavenly Tabernacles or Circles of Hell?

From the windows of the small working office of the manager of the canning factory, Manuel Rodrigues, the fishing port of Olhao is clearly visible. It is almost noon and one after another, fishing vessels are approaching the moorings. There is a lot of action on the quay. The doors of refrigerator trucks are flung open and boxes of freshly-caught fish are stacked in them. Here an enterprising tradesman has set up a brazier, and is selling grilled sardines.

"The crisis which the capitalist world is now undergoing is primarily reflected in the working class and by such minor entrepreneurs such as I," says Rodrigues. "Market sales are declining year by year, and competitors are nipping at our heels. It is very, very difficult to keep going under such conditions."

"Perhaps the Common Market will help?" I asked him.

In response he merely throws up his hands.

"This whole undertaking of joining in the EEC, which the organs of mass information close to the government is propagandizing so, is really a noose for such factory owners such as I," Manuel goes on. "Maintaining a competitive struggle with the canning industry of the more developed countries of Western Europe will hardly succeed. And this is not only my own opinion; many Portuguese think this way."

"The lack of genuine and well-argued information on the consequences of Portugal's entry into the Common Market has led to a situation," stated Joao Oliveira, a deputy to the Parliament of the republic, "in which there are two opposing opinions in the country. Some presume that from now on we shall live in heavenly tabernacles, and others assert that the circles of Hell await us."

At a recent international conference of economists held in Lisbon, dedicated to the problems of Portugal's entry into the EEC, it was noted that Common Market membership will deal a serious blow to its backward agriculture, fishing industry, and many industrial branches; and it will increase the number of unemployed workers. In the opinion of the weekly ESPRESSO, in the years to come after joining the EEC, Portugal will have to pay into the coffers of the Common Market more than it receives from it.

"For small and medium trade and industrial enterprises this will be like a severe tornado. One can state with confidence that not many will be spared," stated Ezequiel de Araujo, a representative of the Association of Small and Medium Proprietors, at a press conference in Lisbon. Backing up

his statement with concrete data, he said that 70 per cent of Portuguese industry falls into the category of small and medium enterprises, at which 65 per cent of the country's workforce is employed. In a document distributed at the press conference it is noted that joining the EEC is an economic mistake. Taking into consideration the high quality of the goods produced by the EEC member nations, which will be brought into Portugal duty free, as well as the fact that labor productivity in the Common Market countries is twice as high, entire branches of the national economy are under threat of bankruptcy.

#### Questionable Priorities

The presidential election which is to be held at the end of 1985 is already today the principal theme of domestic political life. The names of several candidates for the post of president are known. Among these are the country's former prime minister, Maria de Lorde Pintasilgo (she is promising to "force the country to function," but does not name the specific ways to achieve this goal) and former leader of the rightist Social Democratic Center Freitas do Amaral, who plans to support SDP leader A. Cavaco Silva.

According to widespread opinion here, one of those who may actually be elected to the post of President is the present Prime Minister of Portugal, Mario Soares. In April, Mr. Soares officially announced that several dozen influential businessmen from the northern and most conservative part of the country support his candidacy. As conditions of their support they singled out three demands: revision of the Constitution for the purpose of strengthening the position of the private sector, revision of the labor laws and making changes in the banking system. These demands correspond with those firmly supported by the rightist opposition party--the Social-Democratic Center. Agreeing with the "expediency" of these measures in principle, the Prime Minister stated that they can be implemented after his election as President.

"Mario Soares," writes the well-informed newspaper DIARIO DE NOTISIAS, "has chosen the question of Portugal's entry into the EEC as one of the main trump cards of his election campaign on the way to the presidential palace."

Further strengthening political, economic and military ties with the United States and the NATO countries has become another priority direction in Portugal's foreign policy. This was vividly demonstrated during the recent visit of President Reagan to Portugal. And although the talks in Lisbon were ostensibly of a confidential nature, the local press wrote that the head of the White House took advantage of his visit to further involve Portugal in the orbit of his dangerous militaristic plans. Reagan demanded that Lisbon support his efforts aimed at further strengthening so-called "Atlantic solidarity," and strongly stressed the importance of implementing the "star wars" program; he obtained wider authority for the use of the American air force base at Lajes in the Azore Islands, and also established a specific date for the start of construction of a radar station in southern



Portugal for tracking objects in space. And although Reagan's visit took place to the powerful accompaniment of protests on the part of the most varied sectors of the populace, the propositions which were expressed in the main "found understanding" in official Lisbon. The head of the US Administration was, as is well known, in Portugal on 8 and 9 May when all of progressive mankind was celebrating the 40th anniversary of the victory over German fascism in World War Two. The propagandistic theme of "postwar reconciliation," widely promoted by the White House, convincingly showed the Portuguese public that Washington would like to forget the lessons of the Second World War, and Reagan's visit to the Nazi cemetery at Bitburg, in the opinion of the country's democratic press, was a blatant attempt to justify the bestiality of the fascists, to urge on the revanchist forces, and to nurture the sinister plots for revising the basis of the postwar political structure in Europe. "This unprecedented action," it states in the declaration of the Union of Portuguese Antifascist Fighters, "is an insult to the memory of those who gave their lives in the struggle with the brown plague. The wreath laid by Reagan in Bitburg is a betrayal by Washington of the memory of the soldiers of the anti-Hitler coalition which fought with the fascist hordes, of the memory of the victims of Nazism in all the countries of Europe, including Portugal."

#### Main Reasons for Difficulties

In the conditions established after the disintegration of the ruling coalition, the struggle of the working class and all progressive forces in the country who are speaking out for preservation of the gains of the April Revolution is playing an increasingly-important role. Days of Protest, weeks of struggle, and strikes--in these mass demonstrations specific demands are being brought forth. But all of them are taking place under a single common slogan--the necessity to set up a government which will ensure the solution of the urgent economic problems within the framework of a democratic regime, in strict accordance with the Constitution.

At the end of March Portuguese communists held a conference in the Lisbon suburb of Seixal on the theme of "Ways to Develop the Country for the Purpose of Overcoming the Crisis." Taking part in the confrence were nearly 100 delegates from all regions of the country and 150 invited guests, both party and non-party members. The speeches and discussions pointed out the overall complexity of Portugal's economic situation. As the documents from the conference stress, from 1976 through 1984 there was complete stagnation in capital investments in industry (0.1 per cent per year); over the last four years, the trend has become even worse--minus 5.4 per cent; and in the period from 1983 through 1984 the volume of capital investments was reduced by 28 per cent. Inflationary growth over the period 1976 through 1984 amounted to 26 per cent.

As PCP General Secretary Alvaro Cunhal noted in summing up the results of the conference, "The main reason for the unbelievable difficulties in Portugal is not the revolutionary democratic reforms implemented after the victory of the April Revolution, but the destructive attacks on its gains, which have been going on over the course of the last ten years." The

communists believe, he added, that special parliamentary elections should and must be held this year, and that a democratic government of national salvation must be formed. Alvaro Cunhal called for a halt to the reactionary "crusade" against the people's democratic gains, which has brought the country to the brink of financial bankruptcy, and which has made Portugal more dependent on American imperialism and the Western European monopolies in the economic, military and foreign policy spheres.

The recent events have clearly confirmed the correctness of these analyses and the demands to call a halt to the progress of reaction and support the formation of a truly democratic government.

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## WESTERN EUROPE

### SCIENTIFIC COOPERATION WITH FINLAND

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 33, Aug 85 p 21

[Article by Yu. Nechayev: "Finland and the USSR: The Potential of Scientific Cooperation"]

[Text] The date of 16 August is 30 years since the day of entering an agreement on scientific and technical cooperation between the USSR and Finland. Developing the ideas of the 1948 Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance Pact, the agreement became the basis on which a broad infrastructure of mutual scientific and technical exchange was subsequently created.

It was noted in a welcoming speech of the USSR Council of Ministers to participants of a festive meeting, which was devoted to this date, in Moscow: "For the first time in the history of state relations of two systems, 30 years ago our countries set about implementing scientific and technical cooperation on a long-term basis. During the past period, this cooperation has turned into an important category of interstate relations. Its results are of great practical importance for accelerating the scientific and technical progress of both countries."

In an interview on Soviet television, Finnish Prime Minister K. Sorsa stated: "On the one hand, our cooperation signifies an enrichment of the scientific and technical knowledge of both countries and, on the other hand, it promotes the development of trade between our countries."

#### A Strong Foundation

Having presented the opportunity to familiarize themselves with some of its industrial enterprises and scientific institutions that are actively cooperating with Soviet organizations, the Finnish MID [Ministry of Foreign Affairs] invited a group of Soviet journalists to visit the country in connection with the date that was being observed. Extensive and stable ties with the Soviet Union, to the lot of which approximately one-fourth of Finland's foreign trade falls, exert a beneficial influence on the economic system, while assisting it to smooth out frequent and cyclical fluctuations in market conditions that come from the West--such was the unanimous opinion of the representatives of government, business and journalistic circles with whom we had to meet.

The growth of Finland's economic system, it was noted during many of the conversations, would be impossible without a constant increase in the competitiveness of products on the basis of new developments. However, Finland is a small country and, therefore, it's difficult for it to conduct research on all fronts of modern science. "Within the framework of cooperation," noted Kh. Yullenberg, a Helsinki University professor and a member of the Finnish section of the Intergovernmental Soviet-Finnish Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation, "Finland can use the results of research that is being conducted in the USSR. There are many projects that Finland alone couldn't accomplish, but this has become possible within the framework of cooperation."

First of all, space research is named among new projects like these. Last year, the Soviet-Finnish commission reached a decision on the fact that photographs of that country's territory will be made for Finland from space by Soviet satellites.

Another example. At an observatory in the city of Murmansk, Finnish scientists studied electromagnetic noise that was being generated by the aurora borealis and, in this regard, they established that it can cause corrosion of different pipelines that aren't protected by special methods.

At the AN SSSR [USSR Academy of Sciences] Nuclear Physics Institute in Gatchina, Finnish scientists are studying the physical nature of different substances, and at the Biochemistry and Physiology of Microorganisms Institute in Pushchino, they are conducting research in the area of genetic engineering jointly with their Soviet colleagues. And today there are a lot of similar examples.

#### Organization of Research

Under conditions like these, the Finnish researchers get the opportunity to concentrate their efforts on relatively narrow, but main trends for the country's economic system. The Council on Policy in the Area of Science--an advisory organ of the country's government--is involved with determining the over-all volume of allocations for scientific research in the country. The Academy of Finland is the central administrative organ. There are no research subunits [podrazdeleniye] whatsoever as part of the academy; it's only an organizer of scientific studies and a manager of state credits that are allocated for these purposes, emphasized its president, Professor K. O. Donner.

Basic research is concentrated essentially at VUZ's, which conduct it simultaneously with the training of specialists for a higher skill, and at NII [scientific research institutes]. Here the Academy of Finland essentially selects those scientists or groups of scientists it charges with conducting certain research.

The State Scientific and Technical Center (GNTTs) serves as a kind of connecting link between basic research and the assimilation of its results. Professor P. Yaukho, its general director who is also simultaneously the chairman of the Finnish section of the Intergovernmental Finnish-Soviet Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation, says: "The center plays a leading role both as an executor and as an organizer of research and development at the national level."



More than 30 of the center's laboratories in different fields of knowledge--from information science and nuclear energy to textiles and foodstuffs--are peculiar engineering firms combined under one roof.

Finally, industrial firms are one of the most important links of Finland's scientific research structure. All the largest state and special concerns and many small firms have scientific subunits in their structure. In the words of Professor Donner, 57 percent of all NIOKR [scientific research and experimental design operations] is in their hands. A change of direction in research and allocations for them is being made towards more progressive fields--information science, the production of EVM [computers] and their peripheral support, the development of labor-saving and resource-saving manufacturing methods and equipment, the management of production processes and their automation, biotechnology, etc.

The results of these activities both in the scientific area and in the realm of developing Soviet-Finnish trade are substantial. Six people per shift watch display units that monitor the operation of a huge papermaking machine (in all, there are two of them in the shop) from a production control station of the "Rauma-Repola" firm's factory in the city of Lokhya. The machinery is modernized every 5 years; the product assortment is updated more often. Its own search group is engaged in the development of manufacturing methods.

The highest-speed papermaking machines are created at the "Rautapokh'ya" plant in the city of Yuvyaskyulya. E. Leyno, the director of this plant that belongs to the "Valmet" state concern, while acquainting us with the enterprise, drew attention to a testing machine unit on which new processing methods were being worked out for the manufacture of paper from various kinds of raw material, including from waste products too. This machine unit, which is capable of rapidly switching from one processing method to another, is essentially a version of a flexible production system.

#### On the Paths of Arctic Projects

We were acquainted with the activities of the "Vyartsilya" firm's Arctic center. One of the largest in Finland, this concern has a diversified nature, but shipbuilding, especially for the high latitudes, is its basis. With that aim in view and with the assistance of the Leningrad Arctic and Antarctic Institute with which it cooperates closely, the firm created the Arctic center and outfitted it with the latest equipment. The ice experimental basin of the Arctic center is, in the words of its staff members who received us, is the most modern one in the world. This applies not only to its dimensions, but also to the nature of the ice that is formed, which is the closest approximation to the natural kind. Windows in the walls and the bottom of the basin make it possible to visibly observe how the model of an icebreaker and an ice-rated ship behaves when operating in ice. In particular, observations like these showed that a rounded bow of a ship breaks up the ice better than a sharp one, and this discovery has already been carried into the practice of shipbuilding. Experimental operations on models at the center are supplemented with full-scale trials of ships in the water area of the Baltic Sea where the firm has its own

proving ground and in the seas and Siberian rivers of the Soviet Union under conditions when the frosts reach 50-55 degrees.

While throughout the capitalist world shipbuilding is experiencing a protracted structural crisis, export orders for Finnish vessels are steadily increasing and strong ties in this area between our country and Finland are the basis for that. During the postwar years, Finnish shipbuilding firms delivered two-thirds of their production to the Soviet Union; moreover, a third of this volume falls to the "Vyartsilya" shipyard. It's possible to name "Valmet" and "Rauma-Repola" among other major suppliers. The joint development and building of atomic icebreakers for the USSR, which are being constructed by the "Vyartsilya" firm using Soviet equipment for the atomic propulsion systems that Leningrad shipbuilders will install in the ships, became the largest cooperative project.

Right now Finnish shipbuilding firms and scientific organizations are concentrating their efforts on what is called in Finland the "Arctic project"--the creation of platforms for deep-sea drilling in the polar seas and the entire enormous complex of operations that are connected with this. Apart from the purely theoretical scientific project in progress, they already have definite experience. Thus, "Rauma-Repola" is filling an order for two platforms in cooperation with Soviet enterprises.

The "Arctic project" has become one of the most important realms of cooperation between Soviet and Finnish scientific research organizations. Professor P. Yumppanen, who heads this research at GNTTs, named among its joint topics the factors of the northern sea environment and its protection during exploitation of the shelf, the development of drilling platforms, the technology of laying oil pipelines, and the principles of creating the upper portion of a platform.

#### A Wide Range of Ties

Apart from the "Arctic project," the following data give an idea about the breadth of the range of ties between the two countries. Thirty working groups, including 14 on basic research, have been created within the framework of the Commission on Scientific and Technical Cooperation. Right now the parties are conducting joint operations on approximately 90 topics.

It's important to note that Finnish scientists and scientific research institutions are cooperating not only with central institutions and departments of the USSR, but also with republic academies and other organizations of Georgia, Kirghizia, Belorussia, Estonia, and the AN SSSR Siberian Department and Karelian Affiliate. On the Finnish side, participation isn't limited to metropolitan organizations. The universities and scientific centers of Turku, Tampere, Oulu and other cities are making a considerable contribution.

At the beginning of the current year, the academies of the two countries held negotiations, examined the progress of cooperation and ascertained with satisfaction that it is being accomplished successfully. This conclusion is especially urgent right now when the 10th anniversary of the Helsinki Accord is being widely observed. It speaks to the fact that the USSR and Finland are punctually executing the call of this document for the comprehensive development of economic, scientific and technical ties between sovereign states.

EASTERN EUROPE

GDR OFFICIAL ON TRADE WITH USSR

Moscow EKONOMICHESKAYA GAZETA in Russian No 18, May 85 p 21

[Article by Egon Winkelmann, member of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the GDR to the USSR: "GDR-USSR: An Inviolable Combat Alliance, All-Around Collaboration"]

[Excerpts] "Together with all who advocate peace and mutual understanding among peoples, social progress and humanism, our people are commemorating the 40th anniversary of the Soviet Union's Victory over Hitlerite fascism and the liberation of the German people from nazi domination," reads a statement issued by the Central Committee of the SED [Socialist Unity Party of Germany], the Council of State, the Council of Ministers and the National Council of the National Front of the GDR in connection with this historic date. It will be formally commemorated in our republic on 8 May as a state holiday and an important landmark on the path to the forthcoming 11th SED Congress.

Landmarks of Fraternal Friendship

For three and a half decades now, since the founding of the first state of workers and peasants on German land--the German Democratic Republic--our people have advanced confidently along the path of socialism under the guidance of the SED. The Soviet Union has provided the GDR with all-around assistance and support from the very beginning. Hundreds of Soviet specialists have given us their extensive experience, accumulated in the course of strengthening the revolutionary power and building socialism in their country. The Soviet Union provided active economic assistance and supported the first foreign policy steps of the GDR, and made a crucial contribution to its military defense.

The Dynamic Growth of Commodity Circulation

Collaboration between the GDR and the USSR has undergone extensive development in the economic and the scientific-technical field, as it has in the area of foreign policy. While commodity turnover between the two states amounted to 311.3 million rubles in 1950, it reached 5.6 billion in 1975 and will exceed 15 billion rubles in 1985. Stable exports of goods from the GDR to the Soviet Union and a reliable supply of raw materials, energy carriers and modern equipment from the USSR are contributing to the fulfillment of decisions of the parties and governments of both nations and to the continuing advance along the path of all-around intensification.

In 1985 the GDR will make large deliveries of products of the metal working industry, electronics and electrical engineering, including machine tools, presses, rolling equipment, excavators, diesel engines for vessels, various kinds of vessels, electronic equipment, chemical plants and cranes. We shall also export to the USSR long-distance passenger cars, refrigerated cars, equipment for the food industry, agricultural machinery, textile and printing machines, chemical products, movie film, medicines and such consumer goods as furniture, textile items, musical instruments, sporting goods and toys.

A number of important plants and units shipped to the USSR from the GDR will be placed into operation this year. They include automatic press lines, chemical plants and potassium granulation plants. The GDR provides a significant portion of total USSR imports of certain types of machinery and equipment--almost 30 percent of the lathes and presses, for example, 27 percent of the equipment for the oil refining industry, 40 percent of the printing equipment, and approximately 25 percent of the vessels and equipment for vessels.

The Soviet Union, in turn, will continue in 1985 to supply energy carriers and raw materials of particular importance to the GDR. This includes oil, natural gas, steel, aluminum, lumber, ore, asbestos, cellulose and cotton. Soviet supplies cover approximately 70-90 percent of the GDR's import needs for many types of raw materials. Shipments of modern Soviet equipment are playing a special role in the further intensification of the GDR's national economy, including lathes, polishing, drilling and milling machines, diesel engines, hoisting and transporting equipment, looms, mining and metallurgical equipment, excavators, road construction machinery, pumps and trucks. Deliveries of Lada passenger cars and consumer goods will continue.

Not just the volumes of reciprocal shipments of products have increased during the 35 years of the GDR's existence. The quality of the economic and scientific-technical ties has also improved to a considerable degree. In accordance with the directions outlined at the 1985 High-Level Economic Conference of CEMA Nations, there has been a further increase in the specific portion of commercial deliveries based on agreements on specialization and cooperation. This is having a great effect on the structure, the volume and the effectiveness of our foreign trade relations.

The work of combines and foreign trade organizations of the GDR is directed toward the systematic fulfillment of our export commitments to the USSR, with good quality and on schedule, and toward improving the technical servicing and providing a reliable supply of spare parts.

#### The Coordination of Economic Policy

The GDR and the USSR are purposefully moving toward even greater intensification of collaboration. Its main directions in the areas of science, technology, production and capital investments have already been agreed upon in detail to the year 1990 and to the year 2000 in important areas. The effort is focused on achieving an even closer interweaving of the scientific-technical capabilities of the two nations in the interest of achieving the world level in important areas of technical progress.



The program which has been outlined is being implemented. At the 35th meeting of the Intergovernmental Commission on Economic and Scientific-Technical Collaboration between the GDR and the USSR (December 1984), special attention was given to coordinating the national economic plans of the two nations for the period 1986-1990. An entire group of intergovernmental and interdepartmental agreements and protocols were signed, including agreements calling for the creation of possibilities for employing the most modern technology based on the extensive use of microelectronics and assuring the most rapid possible conversion to new generations of products.

The strengthening of the inviolable fraternal alliance with the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is the main element in the policy of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the government of the GDR. This position stems from the principles of proletarian internationalism and has its roots in the revolutionary traditions of struggle of the German communists. Close linkage with the party and the nation of Lenin is the fundamental aspect of the class position and the decisive criterion for each revolutionary and internationalist. This was the case at the time of Great October and it retains its importance today and for the future.

The GDR is linked by bonds of inviolable friendship with the USSR for all time. This is an inseparable element of the socialist commonwealth. This, Comrade Erich Honecker stressed in a speech on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, has been the crucial foundation for the prospering of the GDR in the decades which have passed, and the same is true for its continuing progress. We can state with special joy that our friendship with the Soviet Nation, as Wilhelm (Pik) once stated, is a vital cause of our people.

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EASTERN EUROPE

PRAVDA SERIES ON POLISH ECONOMIC, POLITICAL SITUATION

PM191606 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12, 13, 16 Sep 85

[Three-part article by special correspondents B. Averchenko and O. Losoto under the "Poland Today" rubric: "Before the Elections"]

[12 Sep 85 Second Edition p 4]

[Text] Warsaw--PRAVDA's mailbag contains quite a number of readers' letters asking: How are things in Poland, how is the fraternal country faring, and what kind of tasks and problems, after experiencing a serious economic and sociopolitical crisis, are the PZPR and the Polish working people resolving at the present stage of socialist building?

We visited many plants and factories, higher educational institutions, state farms, and cooperatives and spoke with party and economic leaders, workers, peasants, engineers, and scientists. The following account of present-day Poland is based on those meetings and friendly, sincere conversations.

Present-day Polish reality is multicolored, ambiguous, and not devoid of contradictions.

As we traveled, we saw on both sides of the road fields with good crops--the consummation of arduous peasant labor. The sound of combines harvesting grain droned across the fields from dawn to dusk. Individual peasants also have machines. The slightly richer ones, of course. Agricultural circles, of which there are now around 2,000 in Poland, can also order a combine. This form of peasant cooperation is playing an increasingly marked role in the life of the countryside here.

In one place we met an elderly grain grower. He was sitting motionless on the edge of his small plot of land, ripe wheat rustling softly in the background. An old straw hat protected him from the scorching sun. The peasant was obviously taking a break. His scythe lay beside him. Part of the field had already been cut. Several shocks had been made from the sheaves. We chatted. It turned out the peasant had no successors. His children had long since moved to the city. Nor was his wife able to assist in the field: Age was telling on her, and she was often unwell. And so he had to harvest and make up the shocks on his own...

At Szczecin's A. Warski Shipyard we were able to see the beautiful modern ships created thanks to the creative thinking and labor of Polish designers, engineers, and workers. At Wroclaw's Elwro Plant we were shown the highly complex electronic instruments and computers produced there.

Socialist Poland does not need embellishing. Its evident achievements speak for themselves. And the difficulties? They are there too, and no one hides them either.

The recent crisis years and events are at the root of these difficulties. There are other causes too. Go to any church. Quite a number of people will be found in its gloomy, cold hall. And, as we were told, some priests at times make use of these religious gatherings not just for prayers in praise of the Most High but rather to stir up feelings of uncertainty, distrust, and suspicious in people.

The following incidents are also encountered. Handwritten leaflets calling for a boycott of the Sejm elections will be thrown out of a car as it turns a corner. The same furtive, hastily scrawled message may also appear on someone's wall...

But this is not what determines the situation in the country. People's Poland is engaged in creative labor. Increasing quantities of foodstuffs and manufactured goods are to be found on the shelves of stores. Butter, cheese, eggs, cereals, and bread and confectionary products are all available in sufficient quantity. There are, as always, many fresh vegetables and fruits. Only meat and sugar are rationed.

Newspapers, radio, and television daily report various events which indicate the country's energetic life. A new university has been opened here in Szczecin, an international song festival is being held in Sopot, harvest festivals are being held in the voivodships and parishes, and the Kobrin-Brest-Warsaw gas pipeline--which will considerably supplement the amount of this very valuable raw material put into the national economy--is being built.

We had a meeting at Wroclaw's Pafawag freight car plant with fitter Michael Turzanski, a veteran worker. His life had been difficult. In March 1943, as a 17-year-old youth, the Hitlerites took him off to forced labor in Germany, where he remained until the liberation. What he experienced--hunger, abuse, and the constant threat of death--is better not recalled. In September 1945 he arrived at the Pafawag plant in Wroclaw. The premises were cleared of debris and the few machine tools and pieces of machinery remaining were repaired. Oblivious of time, they would go into the city after work to clear the streets.

"I have been here at Pafawag ever since," he said. "What more is there to tell you? The main thing is work, labor. Only by labor can we make life better, more interesting, and richer. You must work, that's the whole answer."

Our conversation with another veteran worker at the plant, Stanislaw Bak, was, as it were, a continuation of this talk. He has been at Pafawag since 1949. Prior to that he was a soldier, serving in the Polish People's Army. He had worked at the plant as a fitter, foreman, and senior foreman. He studied by correspondence course. He now heads a casting shop.

"You can safely say that the situation now is radically improved," he told us. "Many people have realized that they were duped by reaction. Although, of course, there are still no small number of difficulties. I will not hide the fact that some of our people are gripped by indifference. They try to stand aside... The counterrevolution dealt a powerful blow to Pafawag. And that was no accident. Our plant has always been called 'Red Pafawag.' It was a symbol of the postwar revival. They wanted to destroy that symbol... In the seventies the financial and industrial bosses in the West effectively bought us, giving us credit so as to eventually get us by the throat... Unfortunately, our adversaries succeeded in doing this to some extent. They particularly turned the head of some young, unstable people. Everything is now gradually falling back into place. The main thing is to work and work..."

And yet of all the problems concerning the Polish public at this moment, it is the Sejm elections, which are to take place on 13 October, that are undoubtedly to the forefront.

As you will be aware, elections to the local authority bodies--the people's councils--were held a little over a year ago. They showed Polish working people's support for the program to develop the country, strengthen its socialist base, and increase the population's living standards and meet its social and cultural needs.

The eighth convocation of the Polish Sejm has completed its work, having held in all 70 sessions. In 5 and 1/2 years it passed 203 laws and almost 90 policy resolutions. The majority of them touched on pressing issues in the country's life. The Sejm has enhanced its role and position in the state, despite the fact that it had to operate in the most difficult conditions since the war.

The deputies will be elected to the Sejm this year on the basis of a new electoral statute. Under the new statute the number of candidates will be considerably in excess of the number of seats. After candidates have held meetings with working people and the population, electoral conventions, relying on the assessments made at those meetings, will put 820 candidates--2 for each seat--on the voting list.

Each electoral district will vote for its own candidates. In addition, there is a national list, composed of 50 leading party, state, and public figures, scientists, workers from culture and the arts, and journalists. They represent the broad platform of all the parties and organizations belonging to the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON]. The whole country will vote for this list.



A PZPR Central Committee plenum adopted a resolution on the party's tasks during the Sejm election campaign. The Central Committee supported the "PRON Election Declaration" as the common program platform on which the party, together with all PRON participants stands in the election campaign. The PZPR, the resolution says, attaches particular significance to effectively implementing the working class' leading role, deepening the alliance of workers and peasants, expanding the intelligentsia's participation in the country's life, and ensuring good collaboration among all working people. The PZPR Central Committee plenum recommended the group of party candidates for the Sejm and also enjoined all communists to help create a sociopolitical atmosphere conducive to the participation of all citizens in voting.

The upcoming elections are an important political event on the path toward further strengthening people's power and sociopolitical stability.

The Polish mass media observe that the defeat suffered by the instigators of the plan to destabilize socialist Poland has not altered the most important strategic aims of the still continuing propaganda aggression being waged against Poland by the forces of imperialism and reaction.

The propaganda is mainly spearheaded against the measures taken by the PZPR and the Polish Government, which are helping to successfully eliminate the consequences of the socioeconomic crisis.

"We are going into the elections in conditions, particularly economic conditions, which remain difficult," TRYBUNA LUDU writes. "The political struggle continues. Our adversaries both within the country and outside, astained by our difficulties, exploit those difficulties all the more at such an important time as Sejm elections."

Zdzislaw Balicki, first secretary of the Wroclaw PZPR Voivodship Committee and a well-known journalist and editor, told us:

"The elections will undoubtedly be one of the most significant events in the life of present-day Poland and in the sociopolitical stabilization of the country. The election campaign is a most serious test for all party organizations and for every party member. These elections, like last year's elections to the people's councils, will proceed in a militant atmosphere. The adversary has still not laid down his arms and is calling for an election boycott. And our Wroclaw Voivodship has been, and still is to a certain extent, one where the counterrevolution has entrenched itself most deeply. Of course, the opposition base has considerably narrowed. It is made up of small pathetic groupings. Working people realized the anti-Polish and anti-socialist nature of their demagoguery. We are now paying more attention to work with young people, school children, students and the intelligentsia, which were the breeding grounds for our political adversaries. We are working with cadres. That is the key to improving the situation."

People want to live and work in tranquility. That is just the complete reverse of what is being sought by those opposed to the stabilization of the internal situation in Poland.

"Their strength is undoubtedly waning," Jerzi Majka, chief of the PZPR Central Committee Information Department, told us. "This is shown by the fact that the underground's calls for strikes and protest actions at enterprises in February, April, and June this year met with a negative response on the part of the population."

Our interlocutor observed that while the strength of the opponents of stability inside the country is declining, the same cannot be said for support coming from the outside. Poland has always been a chief target for propaganda aggression from the United States and certain other NATO states. Almost 40 hours of Polish-language broadcasts per day are transmitted by subversive radio stations, guided by the well-known piratical principles of sowing dissent among the public, smashing party unity, undermining socialist ideology, disrupting the economy, weakening the state, isolating the organs of power from the people, and depriving the armed forces of public support.

Meetings between voters and Sejm candidates have been held throughout Poland. The election campaign continues. At the meetings, Polish newspapers report, working people are boldly and resolutely expressing themselves on various problems of life in the country, giving instructions to the candidates, and demanding that they take a clear stance on the most acute issues and be guided by the interests of developing socialist Poland. These meetings are evidence of the growing activeness of the masses and the overcoming of passivity among certain strata of the population.

The upcoming Sejm elections are an important element in present-day political life in Poland. But at the same time the country is also resolving other serious tasks and problems. The economic strategy and the ways of implementing it in the next 5-year plan are being elaborated. The PZPR is preparing for its 10th congress.

But this will form the subject of our next dispatch.

[13 Sep 85 Second Edition p 4]

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 13 September 1985 Second Edition carries on page 4 the 1,800-word second part of a Warsaw dispatch by special correspondents B. Averchenko and O. Losoto under the rubric "Poland Today." Part II, headed "As Reflected by Figures," travels to Szczecin Voivodship, describing industrial and economic activities and development successes in the city and port of Szczecin and agricultural activity in the region, and to Opole Voivodship, where the correspondents focus on the agricultural situation in an area "well known in Poland for its high level of agricultural production," citing various farming and stockraising statistics. The dispatch concludes with the following passage:

"...During our visits to enterprises, state farms, and cooperatives and our meetings and conversations with people we could see that the vast majority of the Polish people are now working intensively, trying to eliminate the consequences of the crisis as swiftly as possible and surmount the

difficulties which continue to exist in abundance, above all in the economic sphere. The economy today is a very important front of the struggle which is directly influencing the situation in the country and the public mood and in which any error or failure is immediately leapt on by opponents.

"A growing number of labor collectives in the republic are in the forefront of the struggle to surmount the difficulties and are coping with the tasks.

"But it is not the case everywhere. If everyone worked in shock fashion and at a highly productive rate, many problems would have been dealt with. Unfortunately, many enterprises are still failing to cope with plan targets. Of course, the unusually severe winter and a shortage of raw and semi-finished materials have been factors. But the demand now is for people to recover more quickly from losses and make up lost ground.

"The Polish Main Statistical Administration report on the economic situation in July 1985 notes that in the first 7 months output and labor productivity in the material production sphere increased compared with the same period last year. The socialized sector's marketed output in July exceeded by 1.1 percent the results for the same month last year, and in the January-July period it was 2.1 percent higher than in the same period in 1984. But the increase in wages was still considerably greater than the growth of production and labor productivity.

"The newspaper RZECZPOSPOLITA notes that, although the state of the domestic market has improved, it continues to cause grave concern. This considerable discrepancy between the dynamics of production and the growth of revenue from citizens is a characteristic feature of the present money and market situation in Poland. Pay increased on average by 19.5 percent compared with the first half of last year, while consumer expenditure on goods increased by only 15.5 percent.

"We talked in Warsaw with Jozef Zajchowski, deputy chairman of the Polish Council of Ministers Planning Commission, about the prospects for the country's economic development. He talked about work on the national economic plan for the forthcoming 5-year period. Three versions of the plan had been presented for discussions. The Polish Sejm favored the second. It envisages accelerated modernization of the national economy. It is intended that production and national income growth in the 5-year plan will be achieved primarily by improving labor productivity and introducing the achievements of scientific and technical progress.

"'Deepening economic and scientific and technical cooperation between Poland and the Soviet Union and other community states is of paramount significance,' J. Zajchowski noted. 'These ties are becoming more effective all the time. In the half-year period Polish exports to the socialist countries increased by 10 percent and imports by 4 percent compared with the same period last year. It is no accident that Western propaganda centers, worried by this, are endeavoring to cast aspersions on the CEMA countries' economic ties. Our response to this is to further develop and deepen this cooperation in all spheres and widen mutually advantageous specialization and cooperation.'

"Poland is emerging on the path of effective economic development in complex conditions, surmounting many difficulties and the consequences of the crisis. And it is being led along this path by the PZPR.

"More about this in the final report."

[16 Sep 85 First Edition p 4]

[Excerpts] Warsaw--Despite the losses it has suffered the PZPR is the mass-based party of the Polish working people. As of the start of this year it had over 2.1 million members and candidate members. They operated in 74,190 primary party organizations and 20,729 sectoral organizations.

Of PZPR personnel 38.5 percent are workers, 9.1 percent are peasants, 51 percent are intellectuals, and 1.4 percent are representatives of other strata.

"In the first 7 months of this year," we were told by Ryszard Czerwinski, deputy director of the PZPR Central Committee Political Organization Department, "about 35,000 people have been accepted as party candidate members. Nearly as many as were accepted for the whole of last year. Essentially the party's numerical reduction has been halted and its ranks are gradually beginning to grow."

The Central Committee Politburo, assessing the PZPR's quantitative and class composition, has deemed it expedient to further strengthen the party's worker-peasant backbone, to increase the youth stratum in it, to improve the deployment of the communists' forces in the labor sphere and at places of residence, and also to observe strictly the high demands made on new entrants.

The PZPR today acts on the entire broad front of ideological and political struggle for the consolidation of socialist gains on Polish soil, the rapid overcoming of economic difficulties, the improvement of the working people's living standard, and the increasingly full satisfaction of their social and cultural needs. At the same time the party is waging a struggle against the foes of socialism in Poland who, relying on the support of the West's sabotage centers, is continuing its subversive work. But fewer and fewer people believe these "defenders" and "improvers" of society, many of whom long ago became paid agents of the Western special services. The reaction's influence is rapidly narrowing.

"We have ceased to be a fortress under siege," W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, said at the 20th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, which was devoted to questions of enhancing the effectiveness of the party's work. "But we have not yet become an army fully on the offensive, marching on a broad and even front. It is essential to step up the pulse of ideological life, to be concerned for the Marxist-Leninist essence of the party and the consolidation of its unity. Any demagoguery, irrespective of its provenance, any manifestations of complacency and alarmism are harmful and objectively undermine the party's cohesion."



The forms and methods of activity which the PZPR has elaborated recently are varied. Public consultations on important questions of the country's life encompassing all Poland or individual strata of the population have met with recognition. The solutions proposed by party and state organs thus become more comprehensible. The regular public opinion polls, which provide rich material for studying moods and assessing particular decisions which have been taken for which preparations are being made have also entered practice.

What are the concerns and deeds by which the party workers and leaders of voivodship, city, and primary PZPR organizations are living today and on what above all are they focusing their efforts? Here are a few notes from our journalists' notebooks made during meetings at party committees:

Stanislaw Kolasa is first secretary of the Piotrkow Trybunalski Voivodship PZPR Committee:

"The main things for us in ideological and propaganda work are the forthcoming Sejm selections and the preparations for the 10th PZPR Congress. This preparation has been joined by all party organizations without exception. In the economic field our voivodship committee and the entire party organization attach special importance to the speediest completion of the fuel and energy complex in Belchatow. This is the country's largest energy construction site and plays a very important part in the development of Poland's national economy."

Jan Zielinski is a secretary of the Katowice Voivodship PZPR Committee:

"Now, in the period of preparation for the next party congress, we are paying great attention to large leading enterprises. It is they after all which as a rule influence the situation in the region. Smaller collectives vie with them and follow their example. 'Days of internal party work' have entered into our practice, when members of the PZPR voivodship committee and party apparatus workers tour the labor collectives and take part in the party organizations' practical work. This involves specific aid, advice, and consultations. But it also involves control and the verification of the execution of decisions. The ideological enemy, especially when he comes from the subversive Western radio stations, is endeavoring to use each of our mistakes and often attacks individual enterprises and specific people. We are seeking to counter hostile misinformation promptly, to show the working people the true state of affairs and the real thrust of a particular problem. This is meeting with understanding and support in the labor collectives."

Czeslaw Uscinowicz is secretary of the PZPR voivodship committee in Szczecin:

"Last year the voivodship party organization grew by 1,500 PZPR candidate members. This year we have accepted the same number of candidates in 6 months. Of these 60 percent are young people. We believe young people's education to be a very important avenue of our work. We are involving war and labor veterans, those who took part in the liberation of Szczecin and

the city's restoration and development, to this work. We have over 1,000 of these veterans. Young people treat veterans with respect and heed their advice."

In Warsaw we had a meeting with Jozef Czyrek, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. He drew attention to the growing activeness of the majority of party organizations. This can be seen particularly against the background of the election campaign which has been launched in the country. Preparation for the 10th party congress is expanding in the PZPR. The supreme party forum will adopt a long-term program. Its draft will be the main platform for discussion prior to the congress.

The Central Committee secretary noted that the PZPR relies on the fraternal parties' experience. We are attentively keeping track of how preparation for the 27th CPSU Congress is being carried out in the USSR and of innovative solutions in the field of accelerating the intensification of the economy and scientific-technical progress, he said. The experience of the CPSU and the other fraternal parties is our common possession. We use it in our daily practical work.

...Poland today. We saw it in its daily routine, overcoming existing difficulties and resolving the next important tasks on the path of socialist building.

CSO: 1807/22

EASTERN EUROPE

ROMANIAN MEMBERSHIP IN IMF DISCUSSED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 28, 9 Jul 85 p 8

[Article by V. Voronetskiy, A. Vavilov, A. Feyt and L. Belyaeva]

[Text] How are Romania's relations with the International Monetary Fund taking shape? D. Putko, Karaganda.

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) was created in 1944 under the aegis of the UN [United Nations Organization] with the aim of rendering assistance to the fund's member countries in providing for some balance in their balance of payments and in extending credit for programs for adjusting payments.

Romania joined the IMF in December, 1972 and along with the SFRY [Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia], Cyprus, Israel and the Netherlands is a member of 1 of the fund's 15 groups. However, only the representative from the Netherlands participates in the activities of the council of directors from this group. The fund's fixed capital is pooled from assets of the leading capitalist states who determine its policy. Romania's monetary payment into the IMF provides it with approximately 0.6 percent of the votes when voting.

Romania is striving to use its participation in the IMF for a balanced development of trade and a guarantee of currency stability.

Prior to the beginning of the 1980's, Romania used IMF credits in a comparatively small volume that didn't exceed its quota. By the end of the 1970's, the total of its credits was 0.5 billion SDR (SDR--special borrowing rights--is the accounting unit accepted in the IMF. Editor's note.).

At the end of the 1970's, the country's payment status deteriorated under the conditions of unfavorable business conditions in the world market and the rapid increase in prices for oil, which Romania was purchasing in sizable quantities. In connection with this, in 1981 the country turned to the IMF for special credit for adjusting payments. In June, 1981 the fund reached a decision on making credit available to Romania over a period of 3 years for the sum total of 1.02 billion SDR (\$1.3 billion) under the condition of implementing a program of economic and foreign trade operations dictated by the fund (adjusting demand by changing prices and the exchange rate, slowing down the increase in the standard of living of the country's population, and others).

Romania is taking active measures that are directed towards adjusting foreign payments. By virtue of a sharp reduction in imports from developing capitalist countries, for 4 years of the current five-year plan Romania maintained a favorable balance in the foreign trade balance for a total of \$7.6 billion. By now, this has allowed it to reduce foreign indebtedness by 40 percent. In connection with this, Romania got an opportunity to decline from using the fund's credits that are disadvantageous for it and that are being made available under "unacceptable," according to the expression of the RKP [Romanian Communist Party] General Secretary N. Ceausescu, conditions.

The policy of the IMF with regard to the credit-receiving countries was critically evaluated at the 13th RKP Congress where it was noted that it's necessary "that the International Monetary Fund should abandon the policy of imposing economic and political conditions, and the IMF, other international organizations and banks must make credits available without political conditions and without interference of any kind in the internal affairs of other sovereign states."

Romania actively supports the demand of developing countries who are members of the IMF for changing the existing system of financing and introducing a preferential system in making loans available to developing countries; it's in favor of taking measures that are directed towards improving the stability of the currency system as a whole.

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## EASTERN EUROPE

### YUGOSLAVIA'S MEASURES TO SOLVE ECONOMIC PROBLEMS VIEWED

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 34, 20 Aug 85 pp 2-3

[Article by Candidates of Economic Sciences B. Medvedev and Ye. Stepanova: "A Course Towards Economic Stability"; passages rendered in all capital letters printed in boldface in source]

[Text] The problems that confront Yugoslavia's economic system, including an indebtedness running into billions and unemployment encompassing 1 million people, are of a rather critical nature. Their solution depends first of all on the course that the country is following today.

The economic system of the Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia is experiencing a difficult period. The country's press points directly to a large number of problems that the economic system of the SFRY [Socialist Federated Republic of Yugoslavia] ran into at the beginning of the 1980's and which, in the opinion of the SKYu [Union of Communists of Yugoslavia] daily KOMMUNIST, still continue to become aggravated.

One of the main problems is the SFRY 's indebtedness, which has totalled nearly \$20 billion. Now the time has come to liquidate the debts and that is extremely burdensome for the country's economic system. According to a report of the TANJUG agency, in 1985 Yugoslavia will have to allocate approximately \$6 billion for liquidating its indebtedness and paying the interest.

The following are included as well among the basic problems: a high level of inflation (in 1984 it reached 60 percent in comparison with 1983); low rates of economic growth; structural disproportions; unemployment, which included almost 1 million people and not counting the considerable number of people who left for temporary work abroad; and other difficulties (for more details concerning this see ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, numbers 6 and 40, 1984).

The Union of Communists of Yugoslavia management and the government of the country see the way out of this complicated situation in implementing a special complex of measures, which was developed by a special commission in accordance with a decision of the 12th SKYu Congress (1982), for stabilizing the country's economy.

In July, 1983 this complex of measures was examined by the SFRY Skupshtina [elective organ of state power] and approved by it as a long-term economic stabilization program.

This program provides for more completely using material and labor resources, increasing discipline and responsibility, bringing consumption of all kinds into conformity with the actual resources of the country, introducing the most rigorous thrift, and reorganizing the structure of the national economy on the basis of the policy of "relying on one's own strengths." It's planned to implement the first phase of the program by 1990. The second phase of the program encompasses the period until the year 2000.

#### RELYING ON ONE'S OWN STRENGTHS

As far back as during the period of preparing the long-term program, the SFRY management emphasized that it's necessary to rely on one's own strengths in implementing it. This was a peculiar reaction to the previous enthusiasm for acquiring foreign technology. As the newspaper BORBA wrote, out of every 100 licenses bought by Yugoslavia in the West during the last 10 years, 83 were sold to it with the condition of acquiring semimanufactures and raw material exclusively from the country supplying the technology. A dependence like this has a particularly adverse effect just now when difficulties have occurred in Yugoslavia with deliveries of its products to Western markets, and it's necessary to purchase raw material and semimanufactures at sharply increasing prices.

Simultaneously it was pointed out that Yugoslavia, however, will not be striving for an autarky and an economic closed state. On the contrary, the program provides for even broader participation of the country in the division of labor of every possible kind. But, first of all, more complete use of the country's material resources, an increase in discipline and responsibility, and efficient use of capital must be the main way of solving economic problems.

Right now Yugoslavia is striving to develop its national economy through a method precisely like this. Characterizing the period being experienced by the country, V. Dzhananovich, who occupied at that time the post of chairman of the SFRY Presidium, noted last year that "its main feature is society's exceptional efforts that are being made for a way out of the economic crisis and the creation of conditions for more stable and dynamic socioeconomic development." And these efforts are already letting themselves be heard.

"Judging by the large number of indicators," which was noted in a commentary of the TANJUG agency, "the Yugoslav economic system is gradually overcoming the difficulties, although it's still premature to talk about its complete recovery." Thus, during the past year, it managed to consolidate some positive trends that occurred in Yugoslavia's national economy in 1983. For example, last year the annual increase in the national product was 2 percent and the increase in industrial production was nearly 4 percent. Agriculture achieved great successes. The wheat harvest reached the record level of 1976 and was 5.6 million tons. Export increased, the country's balance of payments improved, the degree of coordinating consumption with actual material resources was improved, and supplying the population with consumer goods was improved.

## WHAT ELSE IT'S FACED WITH DOING

However, one cannot assess the results achieved in implementing the first phase of the long-term economic stabilization program as unequivocal. As V. Dzhuravich noted, these achievements came "at a considerable price, which also couldn't have been otherwise inasmuch as it was necessary to use only the income that was actually created and, moreover, that was scaled down to the magnitude of payments for foreign indebtedness."

Last year it wasn't successful in solving the main task for economic stabilization--a reduction in inflation rates. And what is more, they increased even more in comparison with 1983. Production capacities--on the average of 62-63 percent--weren't used at full strength. Energy consumption remained extremely inefficient--twice as much of it was expended as in a number of West European countries for producing a unit of national product.

Many problems of the agroindustrial complex, the output of which comprises a considerable portion of the country's exports, still remain unresolved too. Yugoslav specialists also think that the volume of capital investments in agriculture doesn't conform to the importance of this sector for developing the economic system as a whole. The absence of a unified long-term strategy for the development of agriculture is also a shortcoming.

## TASKS FOR THE CURRENT YEAR

Fulfillment of the 1981-1985 plan is being completed during this year. As Yugoslav economists believe, this is the proper time to secure the positive results that were achieved in implementing the first phase of the long-term economic stabilization program. In accordance with the resolution that was adopted by the SFRY Skupshtina concerning Yugoslavia's socioeconomic development and economic policy in 1985, economic operations must become more qualitative. It's planned to provide for an increase in production and exports, as well as to create conditions for reducing the inflation level and maintaining the population's actual personal incomes at the current level.

For fulfilling these tasks it is stipulated to provide for an increase in the total national product of not less than 3 percent, in industrial production of more than 4 percent, and in agricultural production of 2.5 percent. Labor productivity must increase by 1.5 percent. It's planned to increase the total export of goods and services by 12 percent.

Given such rates of increase like these in exporting goods, its excess above imports is \$1.3 billion and receipts from other services, including construction operations abroad, are nearly \$1 billion. It's also assumed that another \$1.3 billion will be received from foreign tourism. Given an increase of 6 percent in imports, this should provide a positive balance in the amount of \$900 million in the balance of payments and a reduction of \$400 million in foreign indebtedness.

Attracting new foreign credits will be allowed only in a case where they're intended first of all for financing those projects that in the future must provide for an increase in exports.

During this year it's anticipated that a further increase in unemployment will be halted. D. Yakovlevich, chairman of the Union Committee on Labor, Public Health Care and Social Security, said in an interview with the TANJUG agency: "We must place nearly 290,000 people in jobs. We consider this a realistic and necessary measure that should pave the way to an increase in the level of employment right up to 1990 when it's necessary to completely solve the problem of unemployment in Yugoslavia." In the words of D. Yakovlevich, during the 1986-1995 period, employment must be increased on an average of 2.5 percent annually.

Undoubtedly, it won't be easy solving all these problems. And the Yugoslav managers and the country's communists understand this well. The weekly KOMMUNIST wrote that economic stabilization is a complex process that lasts for a comparatively long time and that will have far-reaching consequences. Therefore, as M. Planints, chairwoman of the SFRY National Executive Assembly, noted at the beginning of this year in an interview with Yugoslav radio and television: "Right now it's early to be talking about Yugoslavia's overcoming the economic crisis; however, progress in implementing the long-term economic stabilization program is evident. We've moved off the zero mark."

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LATIN AMERICA AND CARIBBEAN

MEXICO'S 'ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE' ON U.S. HIT

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No. 28, Jul 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Igor Valeryevich Goranskiy, correspondent of USSR Gosteleradio /State Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting/ in Mexico City: "In the Land of 'Black Gold' and Silver Deeds of Skilled Workers"]

[Excerpts] Thanks to its natural wealth (oil, silver, coal and much else), the diligence of its people and the constant attention devoted to developing the nationalized sectors of the national economy, Mexico is, from an industrial standpoint, among the most highly developed countries of Latin America. But this has not spared her from acute socioeconomic problems. One of the causes is the inequitable and discriminatory trade conditions imposed on her by her northern neighbor, the United States, and, as a consequence, an enormous foreign trade indebtedness, which has reached \$96 billion, to foreign banks and financial organizations, primarily American.

What Does It Mean to be a "Southern Neighbor"?

The export volume not just of silver, but also of many other Mexican commodities has gone down. This is a result of heavy economic dependency on its northern neighbor, the United States, which is Mexico's major trading partner, and of sending 70 percent of its export shipments to the American market. The protectionist policy being pursued by Washington has had an extremely detrimental effect on Mexico. Merely to list all the protectionist measures undertaken by Washington would take up much space, since in 1984 the United States restricted the import of 200 items from Latin America. I will give only a few examples. An increase in the duty on Mexican textiles of slightly over three percent has amounted to a loss to the Mexicans of \$200 million dollars. And further restrictions on the importation from Mexico of citrus and other fruits and of vegetables means additional unrealized income. There are frequent bans on the importation of beef. Health standards are cited as the reason. Although the U.S. standards do not apply to steel, imports of Mexican steel have been cut by 40 percent. This is a considerable blow not just to the metallurgical industry, but to the whole economy, since a reduction in exports increases the army of unemployed and cuts down on the foreign currency revenues that are so essential for the purchase of the necessary raw materials, equipment and food which the country itself does not provide.

President Miguel de la Madrid has said that the future of Mexico, as of all Latin America, is directly linked to a just solution to the problems of foreign currency indebtedness, growing interest rates, shortage of financial resources, and protectionism by the industrially developed countries...

The chief of state has had to resort, so to speak, to bland formulations -- his position obliges him to. But it was obviously not by accident that Eduardo Pescuera Olea, Mexico's Minister of Agriculture and Hydroelectric Power, chose Washington as the place to sharply condemn protectionism at the end of May. The minister remarked that restoration of the economy is the No. 1 task of the developing countries. Without beating around the bush he stated that the protectionist and discriminatory measures undertaken by the United States are equivalent to a refusal to help those countries rectify their serious economic situation.

The words "serious economic situation" apply in full to Mexico, which is burdened with a foreign debt that has reached \$96 billion. Sixty percent of this is owed to U.S. banks and financial institutions.

The foreign indebtedness began to grow rapidly following the discovery at the beginning of the 1970s of new oilfields on the continental shelf in the Gulf of Mexico. Against the income from the export of this oil new loans were floated abroad to construct new and modernize old enterprises in various industries. However, world market conditions changed, and oil prices fell. Mexico did not obtain the expected income, and got into a difficult financial situation. Furthermore, the United States deliberately jacked up the prices of the industrial goods that Mexico was forced to import. And we must realize that initially it had taken out loans at lower interest rates, but in order to meet the old indebtedness it was forced to borrow again and again at higher interest: at that time the interest rates at American banks sharply increased. A sort of closed circle resulted.

Nonetheless, Mexico was able last year to pay part of its foreign debt, mainly by increasing oil exports. According to information in the newspaper DIA, earnings under this heading in 1984 amounted to \$23 billion dollars, or almost 10 percent more than in 1983.

Mexico was one of the first Western countries to nationalize the enterprises of foreign oil companies. This step was taken in 1938 by President Lazaro Cardenas. Since then the Mexicans have looked after their own oil wealth, reserves of which are estimated at approximately 70 billion barrels (1 barrel = 159 liters). The government strictly regulates the level of output, which has never exceeded 2.75 million bbl per day.

We have had the opportunity to see how the Mexican oil workers work. The national company Petroleos Mexicanos (Pemex) -- the sole enterprise in the country engaged in oil production and refinement, and in the sale of petroleum products -- arranged a helicopter trip for foreign journalists along the Gulf of Mexico, where in the vicinity of the city of Campeche two-thirds of Mexican oil is produced.

The oilwell platforms, like fantastic islands, stand in the sea on strong iron pilings. The lights on the rigging -- those unusual beacons -- stretch all the way to the horizon. Every two weeks helicopters deliver workers to the oilfields. They work with no day off until the next shift. The work is hard. The sea is the sea. If a storm comes up the crew may be entirely cut off from shore. The oilworkers food and drink are furnished by the company...

The United States stands ready to purchase practically all the oil produced by Mexico. As a monopoly purchaser it would be able to dictate its own prices and terms. Realizing this, the Mexicans try not to permit this to happen, and allow the Americans to purchase no more than 49 percent of the total volume of oil exported. Mexico sells to 22 countries of Central America and the Caribbean Basin at favorable prices in the context of the so-called San Jose Agreement. They are supplied with deliveries of Mexican (and Venezuelan) oil against installment payments of 20 percent of its value for five years. Specifically, the oil supplied by Mexico to a considerable degree meets the requirements of the Nicaraguans for this type of fuel. The Director of the Mexican Institute of Foreign Trade, Manuel Armendariz, stated recently that Pemex will continue to supply oil to Nicaragua.

That is a policy of principle. In its foreign policy Mexico has always upheld the principles of noninterference in the affairs of other countries and respect for their sovereignty and their right to decide their own fate. One example of this policy is its participation in the Contadora group, to which Venezuela, Colombia and Panama belong, along with Mexico. In the framework of the Contadora group Mexican diplomacy has been exerting its efforts for two years for a peaceful solution to the crisis in Central America. Through its initiative at Manzanillo, a city located on the Pacific coast, several meetings took place between representatives of the U. S. and Nicaraguan governments, but they were broken off by the fault of the American side. Mexico is insisting on the resumption of these talks.

Here they condemn American interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, the overt support that Washington gives to the counterrevolutionaries, and its own acts of banditry against the Nicaraguan people. President Miguel de la Madrid and other figures have repeatedly emphasized that any aggression against that country will be regarded as aggression against Mexico.

In mid-May, when requesting the permission of the National Congress to pay an official visit to several Western European countries, President Miguel de la Madrid remarked: "Recent events demonstrate that there is an acute need for urgent support at all international forums for the principles of the self-determination of nations, peaceful coexistence and noninterference." He did not have to explain to anyone in Mexico that among "recent events" he had in mind the embargo imposed by the United States on trade with Nicaragua.

The Reagan administration's intention to use economic sanctions to exert pressure on the Sandinista government has been roundly condemned by the Mexican government and people, and by business circles. Pablo Garcia Barbachano, the president of the Center of Mexican Enterprises for the Study



of International Problems, has stated that the businessmen making up that organization intend to "export as much as possible to Nicaragua" and to take "the place of the United States in the Nicaraguan market." (It is a known fact that in 1984 the United States exported to Nicaragua goods in the amount of \$110 million.) Barbachano has said that there are also possibilities for Mexican investment in joint enterprises in Nicaragua.

Of course, the \$110 million mentioned above is no great sum compared to Mexico's enormous foreign debt -- the annual interest payments on the debt alone come to \$12 billion! But using resources obtained by expanding the scope and volume of exports is not the worst way to pay off debts, and for this, hundreds of millions are far from trivial. Thus, apart from considerations of principle, Mexico has a direct financial and economic stake in further developing trade relations with Nicaragua.

#### Approaching the Elections with Slogans Upholding Independence

On 7 July Mexico will hold elections for the House of Deputies of the National Congress. The governors of seven states are also being replaced. The walls of buildings and poles are already plastered with posters urging one to vote for one party or another, and with emblems and pictures of candidates.

The ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party (IRP) is the country's largest political organization. In the elections it has come out in support of the government program embodied in the National Development Plan, which was adopted two years ago by the administration of Miguel de la Madrid. The goals of this program are to restore the growth of the national economy, reduce inflation, preserve and strengthen democratic institutions, extend decentralization in all areas, and develop the economy of backward areas. The government has set itself the task of creating a material base in the coming years that will make it possible to improve the social condition of all strata of Mexican society.

In an effort to increase their seats in the congress the left parties -- including the United Socialist Party (OSPM), the Socialist People's Party (SNP), and the Mexican Workers' Party (MPT) -- for their part have decided for the first time to participate in the elections with a united front. They have already worked out a joint electoral platform "For Democracy, Improvement in Life and National Sovereignty." The left coalition is presenting common candidates. But its tasks are not limited to the electoral campaign. Presenting a united front means to fight aggressively for a solution to the serious problems the country is enduring, and to put up a joint defense for the interests of Mexican workers. The left parties hope during the elections to increase their representation not only in the congress but in all of political life, which will help Mexico to defend its sovereignty more surely and stand by the cause of peace.

As stated at a press conference by the general secretary of the OSPM, Pablo Gomez, the left parties intend to focus their attention on the need to fight to expand democracy and weaken the position of pro-imperialist circles, and in addition, to fight for a new economic policy, since the left parties



believe that the current policy will lead to a decline in real wages, and an increase in the number of those wholly or partially unemployed.

As the elections draw near, many are turning their attention to the increased activities of the rightist parties, especially the Party of National Action (PND), which holds conservative and pro-American views. Typically, the PND is counting on winning most of its votes in the northern states that border the United States. The press has reported that the PND has more than once received financial aid from the United States in the form of "donations to the electoral campaign."

The pre-election emblem of the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party carries the words "For Independence!" Many Mexicans support that slogan. It is especially pertinent now, when the United States, out of dissatisfaction with Mexico's position on a number of international questions, is trying to exert economic and political pressure on it, and thus either directly or indirectly infringing its sovereignty.

Preserving its independence from its powerful northern neighbor, helping to strengthen the movement for the solidarity of the nations of the continent, and to expand Latin American economic integration -- these are Mexico's chief tasks at the present time.

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U.S. ECONOMIC, POLITICAL, MILITARY ROLE IN THAILAND ASSAILED

Moscow ZA RUBEZHOM in Russian No 34, Aug 85 pp 12-13

[Article by Vsevolod Dmitriyevich Kalinin (born in 1937), international correspondent and PRAVDA's Southeast Asian correspondent from 1978 to 1984: "The Shadow of the Pentagon over Thailand"]

[Text] Thailand, one of the largest states in Southeast Asia, is located in Indochina on the Malaccan Peninsula (with an area of 514,000 square kilometers and a population of around 50 million). Since 1967 it has been a member of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The United States is using every means at its disposal--economic, political and military--to attach Thailand to its strategic plans in Southeast Asia and to use it as a bridgehead for interference in the affairs of Southeast Asian states and as a promoter of its influence in ASEAN.

The democratic public of Thailand opposes the involvement of the country in Washington's dangerous plans and favors the settlement of existing problems by peaceful means.

The "City of the Angels" is only one of the many picturesque names of Thailand's capital, Bangkok. The gilded spires of Buddhist pagodas and the roofs of shrines gleam in the sunlight. Wat Arun, the Temple of the Dawn, towers majestically over the mirror-like surface of the Chao Phraya River. The murals in the Shrine of the Emerald Buddha, depicting the Thai version of the Indian epic "Ramayana," are unique in terms of their dimensions and their artistic merit. The architecture in the city is unique and modern. Decorative elements of ingenious design on the buildings protect them from the blazing sun. But urban slums are growing in the capital's swamps and wastelands. Around one-fifth of the 5 million people in Bangkok live in these slums, and most of them are unemployed.

"Our Future Depends on Us Alone"

Bangkok is an early riser. Puffs of smoke are already rising before daybreak. The owners of the mobile eateries on bicycle wheels are lighting their fires in street intersections. Their menu usually includes at least five meat and fish dishes, all of them with rice or noodles. The air is full of the thick

and pungent aroma of sauces and seasonings. Folding tables have already been set up. Vendors of vegetables, fruit and sweets are displaying their wares next to the eateries. This is a typical scene in a big Asian city.

Typical? Yes, it still can be called that, although the number of petty merchants, especially street vendors, decreases with each year. And this process is growing more rapid as the number of stories in department stores rises. Just 10 years ago the large shopping centers in Bangkok could have been counted on one's fingers. Now they are springing up like mushrooms after the rain. And whereas trade was traditionally the realm of local capital in the past, foreign firms are now entering this sphere of the economy on a broad scale. The number of petty merchants is decreasing as a result of fierce competition and as a result of their treatment by the police, who have been ordered to drive them out of the central neighborhoods into the parts of the city where poverty is an old and firmly established way of life.

I went to the outskirts several times. Unimaginable numbers of people are crowded into prefabricated four- and five-story box-shaped buildings. And it is not only that housing is in short supply. The simple laborer cannot afford it. Even when apartments are available, families pass them up in favor of a room so that their meager wages will cover the rent--if, of course, they receive wages.

The danger of losing one's job at any time hangs over the inhabitants of the poor neighborhoods. After all, one out of every seven of the 22 million able-bodied people in the country has no job.

But I rarely heard people complain or bemoan their fate. This is an unacceptable form of behavior in Thailand. People here speak of difficulties, deprivations and even major misfortunes with a restrained smile. This is the tradition, and Buddhism contributed a great deal to it. The only time when people express sorrow and despair is when they speak about children.

When a group of scientists from the Social Studies Institute of Chulalongkorn University was working in the eastern province of Buri Ram, I went there too.

The sun blazed mercilessly, and the ground was furrowed with deep cracks. At a crossroads I saw two children on a knoll. I stopped to ask them for directions and started a conversation with them. The boy, who was six, was named Saksom, and his 4-year-old sister was named Noy. They were from Krian village, which was quite far away. When I asked them why they had come all the way here, Saksom replied:

"We are catching grasshoppers and lizards."

I thought they were just playing, but it turned out to be something else.

"We will eat the grasshoppers ourselves, but we will give the lizards to our sick grandfather," Saksom said.

I gave the children a ride to the village. In a little house on piles, just like most of the houses in Krian, an old man lay on a bare bench in a dark

little room. He was just skin and bones. Saksom gave the old man four lizards.

"If it were not for the little ones, I would have starved long ago. All of the adults work in the field all day. They get so tired that they spend the night there. We ate the last of our rice 3 weeks ago. The bananas dried up from the heat, and even the bamboo stopped producing shoots. If there is no rain in the next few days, all of us will die," the old man said in a voice filled with grief.

Later I learned about the results of the research conducted by the sociologists from Chulalongkorn University. Their studies confirmed that the majority of families are like the one I saw in Krian. They cannot live for more than 4 months on the harvest from their little plots of land. Outside income from weaving, basket-making and so forth is quite meager. For this reason, 70 percent of the poorest families have to go into debt. To rid themselves of surplus mouths to feed, peasants send their children to the cities as soon as they grow up in the hope that there they will earn at least enough for a handful of rice. But this hope is usually unjustified.

According to the data of the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP), more than 2 million children under the age of 15 are employed in trade and industry in Thailand. Their work day can be as long as 18 hours. Many receive only small meals in exchange for their labor. The local press has published several exposes on the living and working conditions of adolescents. It has told of incidents in which parents have sold their children because they could not afford to feed them. At the same time, Thailand is one of Asia's richest rice granaries. "We send grain abroad and see starving children in our own country," reported the Bangkok newspaper NATION REVIEW.

"Children are the future of the country," said Prathip Unsongtam, the director of a school in one of Bangkok's slums. "The life of the children of the poor, a life full of deprivation, could reduce a person worried about the future of his homeland to despair. But we do not have the right to despair. We cannot give in to it. We must struggle and work. Our future depends on us alone."

Prathip Unsongtam's name is well known in the country. She grew up in the slums of Bangkok. She was able to get an education. When she was 16 she began teaching little children, and virtually for free. The poor gave her whatever they could. P. Unsongtam founded a school which now has over 800 students and around 40 teachers.

"Several foundations have been assisting the children of the poor in Thailand in recent years," Prathip Unsongtam told me. "This is an indication that the public is paying more attention to one of the most acute problems. But it cannot be solved with charity. Instead of spending increasingly huge amounts on weapons, the government should reduce military spending and use the savings for the needs of children."



## The Cemetery Near the Bridge Over the River Kwai

Many people in Thailand share this view. For a year and a half now, there have been continuous protests in the country, particularly against the purchase of F-16 planes from the United States. "The funds earmarked for these planes should be used for national economic development and the elevation of the standard of living of peasants," a group of parliamentarians announced. The leaders of labor associations point out the excessive growth of military expenditures and are demanding that the government take resolute measures to increase employment and curb inflation. Student unions have also been more active in this area.

A place many people know from the book "The Bridge Over the River Kwai" and from the popular postwar movie "The Bridge on the River Kwai" is just a 2-hour drive from Bangkok. The book is about World War II and it tells how English, Australian, American and Dutch soldiers taken prisoner by the Japanese built a railroad from Thailand to Burma and erected a bridge over the Kwai River.

Now there is a tourist center here, in Kanchanaburi Province. The railroad is still here and it is still running. There is also a bridge. Of course, it is not the one the prisoners-of-war built, but another one built later. A few cemeteries are closeby--the Japanese tortured the prisoners and executed them for disobedience. Gray gravestones stand in straight rows. The remains of more than 9,000 people lie beneath them. To this day, old women come here from far away to shed a tear on their sons' graves.

"There are many such monuments, testaments to human grief, in the Southeast Asian countries. After the war, people began to erect monuments to the victims to keep the memory of its horrors alive forever and to keep it from ever happening again," the Thai journal ESET remarked.

Many of the events in the region during the four decades since the end of World War II are reminders of the importance of this objective. The French colonizers in Indochina were followed by the Americans, who arrived "with fire and sword." Washington was then able to attach Bangkok to its war chariot. Subunits of American troops and military equipment were situated in Thailand. Planes took off from bases in Thailand to bomb Vietnam. The defeat of the aggressor regenerated the liberation struggle in Indochina. At the request of broad segments of the population of Thailand, U.S. troops were withdrawn from its territory as well.

In recent years, however, the Pentagon has again been able to "build bridges" in this region and it is now firmly entrenched in Thailand. Shipments of American weapons to Thailand are constantly growing. The ships of the U.S. Seventh Fleet are frequent "guests" in the country's ports. American-Thai military interaction is being perfected. Combat maneuvers on sea, on land and in the air are held regularly.

## Domination by Parliamentarians in Uniform

Why has the line of military alliance with American imperialism, which was once condemned and rejected, become the center of foreign policy again, even

though it is having a severely adverse effect on the country's domestic life? The main reason is probably the regime's dependence on so-called American aid. Washington is generously subsidizing Bangkok. American capital investments in the economy are quite large. The total investments of 19 large American corporations in the region exceed 30 billion dollars. Thailand, just as South Korea, Taiwan and Singapore, accounts for a large share of investments. And this is why special demands are made of it. The United States is demanding its economic and its military-political submission.

In Thailand the local comprador bourgeoisie places its selfish interests above the national interest and eagerly follows Washington's lead. Another force with considerable influence in domestic and foreign policy affairs is the military establishment. When I first attended a session of parliament several years ago, I was amazed by the abundance of uniforms. For almost 50 years the army has had stronger representation in the parliament than any political, economic or social group. The military elite has old and strong ties with the grand bourgeoisie. There is virtually no firm of any consequence without an army officer on its board. All of the levers of powers are in the hands of the military-bureaucratic establishment and the comprador elite.

The military establishment is closely bound up with the Pentagon. Many key positions in the army are occupied by people trained in the United States. They still take part in American-Thai undertakings: from joint maneuvers to arms purchases.

There are factional battles in the existing bourgeois political parties (they now number 20). Of course, they cannot have a significant effect on domestic policy, not to mention foreign policy. Successive coalition cabinets pursue a policy benefiting high-ranking military officers and businessmen.

The struggle to democratize the society did not cease, however, even in the darkest days of the military dictatorships. Today it is being joined by increasingly broad segments of the population. Laborers are in the vanguard of the struggle. The growth of the industrial sector is strengthening the position of the working class. In spite of the fragmented nature of the labor movement, laborers are defending their rights with increasing determination. Their tried and tested weapon is the strike. In recent years, national strikes have been called by railroad workers, tobacco workers and public transport employees.

"The growth of the strike movement testifies to the elevation of the working class consciousness," I was told by renowned union activist and leader of the Democratic Labor Party Yongyut Watanawikorn. "The lifting of the strike ban imposed by the military dictatorship was an important victory for labor."

"What are the current problems of the union movement in Thailand?"

"Above all, the unions must be united. This is difficult in a country with so many small enterprises. Their owners do not allow workers to form associations. Foreign capital is discouraging the development of the union movement. Union members are the first to be laid off from firms controlled by foreign capital."

"What are the distinguishing features of class battles during this stage?"

"Along with economic demands--higher wages and better working conditions--political slogans are being put forth more frequently: the prevention of the return to a military dictatorship, the prevention of denationalization, the establishment of state control over the oil and gas industry, the reduction of military expenditures and the organization of friendly relations and cooperation with our neighbors in Indochina," Y. Watanawikorn stressed.

The voice of the Thai peasantry, representing 70 percent of the population of 50 million, is now much louder. Demonstrations for the social and economic rights of women have been more spirited.

#### The Camps Along the Border

The so-called "Cambodian question," an issue artificially created and exaggerated in every way possible by the United States, became the main source of friction in Southeast Asia and a means by which Washington could exert pressure on the ASEAN countries. For several years, there have been continuous hostilities along the Thai-Cambodian border involving heavy artillery and aviation. With the support of Thai subunits, Khmer reactionary gangs are making raids on Cambodian territory. Western propaganda and its yes-men in several ASEAN countries are slanderously reiterating statements about "invasions by Vietnamese troops" in Thailand and about the growing "communist and Soviet threat" in the region.

The same statements were repeated by U.S. Secretary of State G. Shultz at the recent Kuala Lumpur meeting of the foreign ministers of ASEAN countries, the United States, Japan, Canada, Australia and New Zealand and representatives of the EEC, and during his tour of several Asian and Pacific states. He also went to Thailand. Furthermore, he took a trip to the Thai-Cambodian border, where he visited a Khmer counterrevolutionary camp and met with Khmer leaders. In this connection, the WASHINGTON POST quite frankly admitted that "Shultz' public show of support was actually only a supplement to the program of covert CIA aid to the rebels.... Since 1982 the CIA has secretly given the anti-communist Cambodian groups several million dollars each a year."

Just 4 kilometers from the Cambodian border, Shultz climbed into an American M-48A5 tank and posed for photographers. This was the very spot where Pol Pot's forces crossed the border into Thailand with weapons in hand and with mortars and antitank guns at the beginning of 1979 when popular rule was established in Cambodia. These were armed detachments, and not the crowds of refugees depicted by Western propaganda.

Why have the "Red Khmers," as Pol Pot's butchers are sometimes called, found refuge in Thailand? After all, the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary regime was certainly not friendly to Bangkok when it was in power in Phnom Penh.

As I look through my journal entries on one of my trips to the region of the Thai-Cambodian border in 1978, before the anti-people regime in Cambodia was overthrown, I read about what happened when I was researching the problems of rural cooperatives.



I was riding in a car with a local dignitary from Surin to a cooperative 30 kilometers from the border. Suddenly we drove up to a barrier on a hill. While a guard and an officer examined our papers, I looked around. Machine gun nests and mortars had been set up on a steep cliff. I could see barracks in the distance. It was obvious that they were relatively new.

"Why," I asked the officer, "does a public road pass through a military unit?"

"This is a temporary support point," he was eager to explain. "Several such points have been set up in the border zone to prevent robberies by gangs of 'Red Khmers' from Cambodia."

Bangkok repeatedly protested these raids during those years. The provocative behavior of the "Red Khmers" sometimes led to armed conflicts on the border. Bangkok was also displeased with the Pol Pot regime's efforts to sever relations between the two countries and with the Cambodian side's erection of barriers in reciprocal trade. Phnom Penh's withdrawal from the Committee on the Mekong also slowed down projects for the exploitation of the resources of this river, the largest in Indochina, including resources on Thai territory.

For this reason, the Thai Government's orders not to allow entry to refugees from Phnom Penh were quite understandable and were dictated by national interests. Thai troops kept them from crossing the border. Several skirmishes broke out. Less than 2 weeks later, however, these orders were replaced by a policy of open borders. Yesterday's enemies were suddenly Thailand's best friends.

Some facts shed light on this complete reversal in policy. News agencies in Washington reported that the ambassador of Thailand had been summoned several times to the State Department and then to the White House for talks with members of the special services. During those days, the American ambassador in Bangkok was constantly driving back and forth between his residence and government agencies. Thai dignitaries could hardly keep up with all of the arrivals of U.S. groups of "experts" on Asian affairs at Bangkok's Don Muang airport.

In those days, the majority of journalists were in Aranyaprathet and other border cities. Americans in civilian clothes arrived soon afterward and requested border authorities to remove all "superfluous" representatives of the mass media from the zone. A briefing was held for the rest of the newsmen, most of them Americans. And this was followed by statements that Thailand was opening the border for Pol Pot's forces on "humane grounds." "Refugee camps" were hastily set up in Thailand, and large sums for their maintenance began pouring into Bangkok.

In the capitalist world, they do not waste their money. This means that the camps set up along the border on American orders were necessary to the Americans.

"They became a 'cordon sanitaire,' preventing the infiltration of the free world by communist propaganda," former General Sudsay Khasdin, the leader of ultra-rightwing youth organizations in Thailand, frankly told me. "Otherwise, our country would have been the next 'domino.'"



"But many people in your country, including high-ranking officers, believe that the 'domino theory' is only a means of intimidation and that neither Vietnam nor any other neighboring country in Indochina has any plans to invade Thailand."

"Each person has his own opinion," Khasdin continued. "In any case, we will be able to defend our sovereignty, and our American friends will help us do this."

"But their present actions are certainly not in Thailand's interest: The maintenance of Pol Pot's forces has created additional difficulties for the country in many respects, and the preservation of the seat of tension is undermining the country's international prestige and giving rise to disagreements in ASEAN."

Thailand's national interests were sacrificed to the aggressive plans of the United States, which was able to strengthen its jeopardized influence in this country by maintaining the tension along the Thai-Cambodian border.

Agents of the CIA are still putting together shock forces in the camps to make provocative raids on Cambodian territory. They are organized whenever Thailand or another ASEAN country establishes contacts with the socialist states of Indochina.

#### Contrary to ASEAN Interests

The United States has forced Asians to fight Asians several times. Now Washington is pushing Bangkok into a military confrontation with its neighbors in Indochina. Can this be in the interest of Thailand and the other countries of Indochina? A Thai proverb says: "Do not start a fire in your neighbor's house; the flames could spread to your house."

Many people in Thailand and other ASEAN countries are worried about the increased tension in Southeast Asia and are trying to find ways of alleviating it. This was the subject of a seminar in Bangkok's Thammasat University. At the seminar, T. Sukhakanya, an instructor in the Political Science Department of the university, said:

"What good will it do to support the 'Red Khmer' government, this gang of degenerates representing no one? Bangkok should reconsider its position with regard to Cambodia, or those who say that Thailand is placing the policy of foreign powers above national interests will be right."

And here is the opinion famous politician, Deputy Prime Minister B. Rattakul of Thailand, expressed in NATION REVIEW. He recalled that the possibility of turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace was discussed in ASEAN back in 1971. "On the basis of this idea, Thailand should develop good relations with all countries, especially its neighbors. This is an issue of vital importance to our country and other countries in the region," Rattakul said.

Representatives of Thailand's democratic public have advised a policy of non-alignment and of bilateral treaties on peace, friendship and cooperation with all countries, including neighboring states.

There have been loud appeals from Jakarta, Manila and Kuala Lumpur for consideration of the fact that ASEAN was founded in 1967 for the purpose of promoting the economic, social and cultural development of its members. It has been repeatedly declared at many ASEAN forums that economic difficulties, social problems and, eventually, political instability become increasingly apparent as military expenditures rise.

"We are being urged to do this," said famous Indonesian public and political leader M. Sofyan, "by Washington, which is trying to force our countries to bear part of the material expense of the United States' actions as world policeman."

The facts testify that Washington's policy in Southeast Asia is contrary to the national interests of all the countries there, including the ASEAN states, and is contrary to the association's declared goals.

#### Possibilities for Cooperation Are Tremendous

In Southeast Asia, however, the voices of those advocating the development of mutually beneficial cooperation between the countries of the region are growing louder. Possibilities for this are tremendous. The exploitation of the Mekong's resources is only one example.

This river runs down the mountains of Tibet, where it is called the Dzachu. In China's Yunnan Province it is called the Lancangjiang. In Indochina it is respectfully called the "Father of Rivers." The length of the lower Mekong to the point at which it enters the South China Sea is around 2,400 kilometers. The basin of this part of the river covers an area of 600,000 square kilometers. It is populated by 40 million people.

The headquarters of the provisional Committee on the Mekong is in Bangkok, and its present members are Vietnam, Laos and Thailand. Cambodia was a member for about 20 years after the committee was formed in 1957, but the Pol Pot regime stopped cooperating with its neighbors on the Mekong.

"It is as if a cart had lost its fourth wheel," said Galal Magdi, the executive secretary of the committee, when I spoke with him in his office.

"Cambodia's absence is complicating the committee's work."

"But after all, the Cambodian Government has stated its willingness to take a constructive part in committee work many times."

"This willingness can only be applauded. As soon as the question of Cambodia's representation in the United Nations, under whose auspices the committee is operating, is settled, the exploitation of the Mekong's resources will continue at full speed. All four countries have a common interest in this work, and it demands the quickest possible settlement of relations between Thailand and Cambodia."

The exploitation of the Mekong basin will deliver the people living here from the suffering caused by a succession of droughts and floods. Additional

irrigation alone can provide more than 140 million people with food. The Mekong and other local rivers could produce around 150 billion kilowatt-hours of electrical power a year, or six times as much as the countries of the region now need. Complete electrification, industrial growth and the development of the untouched riches of the land will aid in raising the material and cultural standard of living of the people in Indochina. And this is a realistic plan, a plan based on scientific analysis.

The government of Thailand attaches the greatest significance to the committee's work, Thai Minister of Science, Technology and Energy Damrong Lathapipat said at a regular session of the committee. The regular droughts and floods are costing the Thai economy billions of dollars. At the same time, huge quantities of water are running into the ocean and are virtually useless. If the energy of the greatest river in Southeast Asia could serve man, many of the problems disturbing the population of northeastern Thailand would be solved.

There are several other areas of cooperation. This is attested to by the recent Lao-Thai talks in Vientiane on some bilateral and regional issues. These talks were the result of the constructive peaceful policy of three countries in Indochina--Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia--and their efforts to normalize the situation in Southeast Asia. This is the only way of solving the most difficult problems with respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of all states of the region. A step has been taken in the right direction. It obviously displeased Washington, which "advised" Thailand "not to entertain illusions."

All we can say now is that time will tell whether Bangkok will listen to shouts from across the ocean or to the voice of reason.

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LEGAL BASIS OF SOVIET CLAIM TO KURILE ISLANDS

Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 36, 3 Sep 85 p 8

[Article by Professor and Doctor of Historical Sciences Major General M. Monin]

[Text] It's common knowledge that the ruling circles of Japan are putting forth claims now for returning to them four islands of the Lesser Kuriles group, while calling them Japan's "northern territories." This is being done with the support of the United States. Please tell me whether the United States and Great Britain at one time recognized the legality of transferring all the Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union. V. Uskov, Riga.

Yes, they recognized it. And this was officially stated in paragraph three of the decision of the Yalta Conference involving the leaders of the three allied powers--the USSR, the United States and Great Britain--on questions of the Far East. For example, F. Roosevelt reacted to a speech by the head of the Soviet delegation concerning the conditions of the USSR's entering the war with Japan (among these conditions the demand was also put forth for transferring the Kurile Islands to it) with a statement on the reasonableness of the demands of the Russians who "want returned what was torn away from them." In a conversation with I. V. Stalin on 8 February 1945, he stated directly that "the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands will be given back to the Soviet Union."

Great Britain also recognized this. The Cairo Declaration of 1943, which was signed by F. Roosevelt, W. Churchill and Chiang Kai-shek, was considered in this regard. Following its complete defeat, depriving Japan of all rights to somebody else's lands seized by it was provided for in the declaration. The fact that Japan lost any rights to the Kurile Islands that were obtained by it in accordance with the St. Petersburg Treaty of 1875, which it violated with the seizure of South Sakhalin in 1905, also was taken into account. It was kept in mind that Japan used the islands for anti-Soviet military provocations during the 1941-1945 period.

Having agreed to record in the decisions of the Yalta Conference that the indicated claims of the USSR "must be unconditionally satisfied following the victory over Japan," the United States and Great Britain recognized the legality



and validity of the USSR's demands relative to transferring the Kurile Islands on a par with other demands in terms of the Far East.

During the period from 18 August to 1 September 1945, Soviet troops in cooperation with military sailors liberated the Kurile Islands and hoisted the national flag of the USSR over them. Our motherland obtained a broad outlet to the Pacific Ocean.

In the peace treaty with Japan that was worked out by the U. S. State Department and approved at the San Francisco Peace Conference in September, 1951, it was pointed out that Japan renounced all rights, legal grounds and claims with regard to South Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands.

However, while showing a hostile attitude towards the Soviet Union in spite of the decisions of the Yalta Conference, the authors of this peace treaty refused to include in it the status of South Sakhalin and the Kuriles belonging to the Soviet Union. Soviet amendments to the treaty on the recognition by Japan of the USSR's sovereignty over the southern part of Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands were declined. The USSR did not sign the San Francisco peace treaty.

9889

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

SIGNIFICANCE OF USSR-SYRIAN FRIENDSHIP TREATY VIEWED

PM100953 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Oct 85 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by O. Fomin: "USSR-Syrian Ties of Friendship Strengthening"]

[Text] Syria's anti-imperialist course and its firmness in the struggle against Israeli expansionism, U.S. hegemonism and the U.S. and Israeli attempts to impose capitulatory forms of a Near East settlement on the Arabs have won deserved respect in the Soviet Union.

Soviet-Syrian relations are developing fruitfully in the political, economic, military, scientific-technical, and other spheres. With the aim of consolidating these relations on a legal basis and of developing them to a new and higher level, the USSR and Syria concluded the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation in Moscow 8 October 1980. Its duration is 20 years with subsequent extension by mutual consent of the High Contracting Parties.

This treaty and all its articles are a vivid illustration of the new type of international relations and equitable cooperation between a socialist power and a liberated developing state. It is an important contribution to consolidating the alliance between the two greatest forces of the present day and the two currents of the world revolutionary process--real socialism and the national liberation movement. The final victory of the forces of peace and progress on earth, the eradication of imperialist and neocolonialist blackmail and diktat, and the elimination of racism, Zionism, and other misanthropic concepts will depend on the durability of that alliance. At the treaty signing ceremony in the Kremlin, Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Ba'th Party and president of Syria, rightly noted that Soviet-Syrian cooperation is "a firm base on which the forces of socialism, progress, and liberation throughout the world can rely in rebutting the plots of reaction and imperialism."

The Soviet-Syrian treaty was signed when the activity of the participants in the tripartite Camp David plot, aimed at imposing the terms of the agreement on the Arab countries, was at its height. Syria, which is in the vanguard of the struggle against the intrigues of U.S. imperialism and Zionism in the Near East, was subjected to the most powerful pressure and blackmail. Thus the treaty helped not only to strengthen Syria's anti-imperialist positions but also further intensify and consolidate the National Steadfastness and

Confrontation Front which, in addition to Syria, includes Algeria, the PDRY, Libya, and the PLO.

In a situation where U.S. imperialism, relying on Israel and the al-Sadat regime, was conducting a global offensive against the Arab national liberation movement, friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union became a vital necessity for the whole Arab world. The preamble to the treaty said that the USSR and Syria are fully resolved to "firmly rebuff the policy of aggression pursued by imperialism and its accomplices and to continue the struggle against colonialism, neocolonialism, and racism in all their forms and manifestations, including Zionism..." Expressing the sentiments of the broad Arab people's masses, the Lebanese newspaper AL-NIDA' wrote that the treaty represents a hand of friendship generously extended by the Soviet Union to the Arabs, a guarantee of assistance and support in their struggle for the Arab nation's honor and the security of the land and its riches.

During the signing of the document it was stressed that the "Soviet-Syrian treaty is designed to help improve the situation in the Near East and help establish genuine and just peace there." This treaty is the complete opposite of the Camp David deal. Camp David's main aim is to achieve the U.S. military penetration of the Near East and deprive the Palestinian people of the right to their own state system. The Moscow treaty contains not the least threat to other peoples nor the slightest intention of encroaching on their interests. On the contrary, it serves the cause of promoting Near East settlement, the restoration of the Palestinian people's legitimate rights, and the cause of peace and the security of all the region's peoples. It represented a serious warning to the parties to the anti-Arab Camp David deal and an obstacle to the plans of Israel and its backer, the United States, aimed at launching far-reaching armed aggression against Syria.

The Syrian people are building a new life under the leadership of the National Progressive Front, which includes the Communist Party and other progressive parties in addition to the ruling Ba'th Party. They are convinced that the development of the comprehensive relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union is necessary to resolve their vital problems. The Soviet-Syrian treaty has borne fruit more than once in the past 5 years. As H. al-Asad and other Syrian Leaders have repeatedly noted, it is thanks to the implementation of the treaty's provisions that Syria has managed to expand its national economic potential, considerably increase its defense might, and give effective assistance to its Arab brothers in the struggle against imperialism and Zionism. While relying on the Soviet Union's support, Syria played an important role in thwarting the shackling Lebanese-Israeli agreement of 17 May 1983, which was foisted on the Lebanese Government, and in ejecting the U.S. and other NATO countries' "multinational forces" from Lebanon's soil. It continues to assist the Lebanese patriots' heroic struggle for the complete and final expulsion of the Israeli occupiers from the country.

Top-level political consultations and the regular exchange of opinions on the most important questions of international life have become the major feature of USSR-Syrian cooperation. This form of state and party ties helps

coordinate the countries' actions in the joint struggle to consolidate world peace, achieve a just and all-embracing Near East settlement, and ensure the sovereign rights of the Arab peoples; above all, the Palestinian Arab people.

Talks were held between M. S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and H. al-Asad, general secretary of the Ba'th Party and president of Syria, in Moscow on 19 June last. During the talks H. al-Asad rated highly the Soviet Union's broad assistance. He emphasized his profound conviction that the development and expansion of Soviet-Syrian cooperation meet the vital interests of all Arab peoples and of the Arab world as a whole. M. S. Gorbachev noted that the Soviet Union rates highly the consistent anti-imperialist policy pursued by Syria, which firmly defends the Arabs' national interests and legitimate rights. Both sides expressed satisfaction at the successful development of the multifaceted relations between the USSR and Syria on the firm basis of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation.

Soviet-Syrian cooperation has passed the test of time and been tempered in the joint anti-imperialist struggle. Resting on the durable foundation of the Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, it is acquiring more and more new forms and directions. Extensive prospects for further deepening and development have opened up before it. Common viewpoints and stances on the fundamental contemporary problems and the joint desire of the USSR and Syria to increasingly develop all-round cooperation evoke a sense of profound satisfaction among Soviet and Syrian people and all those who are interested in the victory of the forces of peace and creation over the forces of war and destruction.

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

LANGUAGE POLICY IN AFGHANISTAN DISCUSSED

Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 26 Oct 84 p 7

[Article by Abduhafiz Ghaniyev, "Afghanistan: The Fruits of the Nationality Policy"]

[Text] Abduhafiz Ghaniyev, docent of the Department of Orientalism of Tashkent State Univeristy imeni V. I. Lenin and deputy chairman of the Uzbek Chapter of the USSR-Afghanistan Friendship Society, has visited Afghanistan several times since the 1978 April Revolution. He has talked to the Afghan public about the results of the Leninist nationality policy and successes achieved in the fields of science and culture in Uzbekistan.

It is well-known that on 27 April 1978 the freedom-loving Afghan people carried out the April Revolution and set up a new society that would look out for the interests of the broad working masses.

The "DRA Basic Principles," which functions temporarily as the country's constitution, pays great attention to the problem of national languages. Although Afghanistan had a population of 16 million, according to the 1979 census, nationalities and tribes speaking over 30 languages and dialects live there. Since the formation of the multinational Afghan state (a centralized Afghan feudal state came into existence for the first time in 1747; its founder was Ahmadshah Durrani, a chief of the Durrani tribe) the Farsi language has been dominant in the country's social, political, and cultural life. The 1964 constitution officially gave the name Dari to this language. Although the Pashtuns (Afghans) who speak Pashtu form more than half the population of the country this language was elevated to the official state language only in the 1930s.

Despite the fact that Pashtu and Dari are closely related languages of the Iranian system they greatly differ from one another in vocabulary and grammatical constructions. For example, whereas in Pashtu one says "dod"y" (bread), "kor" (house), "mor" (mother), "plor" (father), and "hevod" (homeland), these words in Dari are "non," "khona," "modar," "padar," and "keshvar."

During its development Pashtu fell under the influence of the Hindi and Urdu languages. Pashtu's divergence from Dari increased due to this and other

factors. Nationalities that speak languages and dialects other than Dari or Pashtu were discriminated against by the destructive language policy of the state regime prior to the April Revolution, and many languages even lacked an alphabet. Dari and Pashtu dominated all areas of life in the country.

According to official data the Pashtu tribes occupy first place in Afghanistan from the viewpoint of number. They form 55 percent of the country's population. More than 10 million Pashtu speakers live in Pashtunistan which is part of the present Pakistan state. They were forcibly separated from their brothers and fellow tribesmen as a result of the delimitation called the Durand Line which was created due to English colonialist policy in 1981 [for 1893]. The Pashtuns who live in present Afghanistan territory are divided into many tribes and clans. They can be divided into four large groups: the Sarbani, Batani, Gurgusht, and Karrani groups. The dialects spoken by these tribes and clans are divided into the Northeast group centered on Peshawar, the Southwest group centered on Kandahar, and the Southern group centered on the city of Gardez.

Most of the Pashtu dialects are named after the tribes who speak them: the Durrani, Galchai (Gilzai), Mohmand, Shinvar, Dzadran, Vardak, Apridi, Vaziri, Ziri, and so forth. The Pashtu literary language mostly reflects features of the Northeast and Southern dialects in its lexical structure and grammatical constructions. But because of certain economic and social conditions the process of their formation of the Pashtu literary language as a unitary national language is still not completed.

The Tajiks, or more correctly the Farsivans, form 19 percent of the country's population. Dari is the same as the Tajik of today and as the Farsi language of Iran in the past. The scholar L. N. Kiseleva, a researcher in Dari, dealt with this in detail in her book "Ocherki po leksikologii yazyka Dari." From the viewpoint of grammatical and lexical structure these three literary languages, that is, modern Farsi, Tajik, and Dari, were a single language in the past, but later, especially from the 16th century on, evolved as independent languages under new social, historical, and geographical conditions. The Dari language in modern Afghanistan has three groups of dialects: the Kabul dialect, the Jabal---ussuraj dialect...[text as printed] The Afghan scholar Ravan Farhadi published a Russian language monograph entitled "Razgovorniy Farsi v Afghanistane" about the Dari language and its spoken form in Afghanistan. This book provides interesting material about the study of Dari and its grammatical and lexical features.

Uzbeks form 9 percent of the population of Afghanistan. After the April Revolution newspapers and journals began to be published in various local languages for the first time in the country. These include the newspaper YULDUZ, published in Uzbek language. When we examine the features of the Uzbek language in this newspaper we sense that it uses a great number of Persian-Arabic elements. The Uzbek language in Afghanistan has its own phonetic features, rhythm, and melody.

After the Uzbeks in number come the Khazars, who form a little more than 8 percent of the country's population. The book "Yazyk afganskiy khazara" by

the Soviet scholar V. A. Yefimov is considered an important manual for the study of this language. After the Khazars come the smaller nationalities and tribes of the Charaimak, Turkmen, Nuristani, Beluchi, Kirgiz, Kazak, and others. Also in the language ethnos of modern Afghanistan are the few in number Arabs, Karakalpaks, Bakhtiyars, Kizilbash, Panjabis, and Jews. The languages and dialects of the Afghan nationalities and tribes enumerated above basically belong to three language systems: Indo-European (Iranian and Indic groups), Turko-Mongol, and semitic (Arabic).

Comrade Babrak Karmal, chief secretary of the PDPA Central Committee and chairman of the DRA Revolutionary Council, has stressed that the DRA government has made it its goal to draw all nationalities living in Afghanistan into the process of material and spiritual development.

The fruits of the April Revolution are available to all peoples and nationalities living in Afghanistan, and in the near future their national languages and literatures and cultures will find their flourishing in the true sense.

9439

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

AFGHAN UZBEKS WRITE TO SOVIET 'HOMELAND SOCIETY'

Tashkent OZBEKISTON ADABIYOTI VA SAN'ATI in Uzbek 1 Feb 85 p 7

[Article by A. Luqmonov: "Our Countrymen's Image in Writing"]

[Text] "First of all, with your permission, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to you. Through your gracious efforts, we, dwellers in a foreign country, have received good news from our motherland. My hopes had crumbled away after 38 years, but for the first time I received a letter from my kinsmen. For this I would heartily thank you."

If you would look over these lines, emissaries from a thirsting soul, longing glances appearing anxiously from the depths of the heart, then our countrymen pass before your eyes, far from their precious, blessed motherland, dwelling in foreign countries, unable to meet their own people, their family and relations, but grasping onto the hem of an abstract notion of inevitable destiny. If the author of the above letter, Abdulla Toychiev of West Germany, in the course of concluding his letter of gratitude to the "Homeland" society, were to envision the unparalleled transformations effected in the bosom of our motherland during the 60 years of the Soviet government, he would be utterly astonished.

"Uzbek literature and art interest me a great deal. It must be because my nationality is Uzbek that I want to study and learn so much about Uzbekistan. Up until the April Revolution in Afghanistan, we Uzbeks were forbidden to study in our own tongue or to observe our traditions and customs." Thus writes our brother from Afghanistan, Jamil Barno Osifiy, who continues with pride, "As a result of the revolution we gained the right to study in our own language. Now I have a great interest in the Uzbek language and in the culture of the Uzbek people. . ."

In truth our language and culture, ornamented through the centuries, are of interest to those of our brothers and compatriots, at least, who with pure conscience maintain contacts with this country. At the same time this sends shivers into the hearts of those who disguise themselves as our "friends." These cast stones at us and at our contemporary life and at our ever-progressing culture. They would blacken the socialist reality through all kinds of "Voices" cunning in slanderous ways. But there is a saying among our people: "The moon cannot be hidden by a skirt." Some time ago, after a long absence



our compatriot Tursunboy Dehqonboy, visiting his motherland, left these words in the "Homeland" society's guest book: "I came to Uzbekistan, my motherland, after 43 years, and was a guest there for three weeks. When I saw the huge modern buildings constructed in Uzbekistan since the war, my heart filled with joy. I was gladdened from the bottom of my heart.

"I wish the people of our homeland Uzbekistan and of the USSR to live in peace and well-being always."

Wherever and however a man lives, he is drawn above all toward the precious ground where the blood of his umbilical cord was shed upon the earth, the land where the dust of his forefathers lies. If he once again establishes contacts with his kinsmen and relatives, his excitement is as if he had discovered an immense buried treasure.

"My esteemed fellow-townsmen! I received your response to the letter I wrote seeking your assistance in locating my relatives. Despite many difficulties you wrote identifying the place where my relatives live in Termiz in our Uzbekistan. For this I would convey to you my abundant gratitude." Thus writes Abdulahad Temur, who lives in Turkey, in a letter to us. "For me, from my heart, finding my dear relatives made me and my family unimaginably happy. We longed to see them for many years . . ."

Indeed, if you think about these countrymen of ours, the following lines of the poet Erkin Vohidov begin to pass through your mind:

I know how grievous is the burden of separation,  
What pain it is to wait for months and years.  
I know that in longing for Uzbekistan  
Inside your eyes you never sleep.

While these lines were intended for those countrymen fulfilling their international human obligation abroad, they seem to speak also to those who remain permanently in those foreign lands. For if you listen to the heart's lament among them, you can almost hear the cry, as the poet says,

What choice is there for us -- this our  
Homeland is such that  
One enflamed by love for it  
Cannot but yearn for it.

"Before I came to my original homeland I had no knowledge of its past or present. And now? I know it well. Love and affection for it have seized my heart. Now I mobilize my strength to serve it." Thus speaks yet another compatriot, Zaynab al-Bukhoriy of Syria, in her own words.

In truth, one who looks over the letters exchanged between the "Homeland" society and our countrymen in foreign countries will meet people of wondrous destiny. Some wish the society well in its work, some are pleased by its work, and others, through their ideas, add further great responsibilities upon the society's workers. For example, Abdulmajid Ishchi of the Democratic

Republic of Afghanistan writes thus: "Since the "Homeland " society was formed, it has been raising the banner of struggle on the path of friendship among peoples and has acquainted the people of the world with the successes achieved by the Soviet people, and by the Uzbek people in particular. You, comrades, are true friends of the Afghan people and defenders of the transformations brought about in Afghanistan by the April Revolution."

If you leaf through the letters which have arrived in the Uzbekistan "Homeland" society's mail, you find accounts, written in Arabic, Persian, English, German, Dari, Turkish and other languages, of the amazement of our compatriots at the changes that have taken place in the territory of Uzbekistan. If you look at their writings, you will automatically see, as it were, the man and the full vision of his lament appearing behind every letter and every line.

9439

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MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA/SOUTH ASIA

ANTI-SOVIET, ANTI-AZERI PROPAGANDA IN IRAN ASSAILED

Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri 9 Aug 85 p 2

[Editorial Report] Baku ADABIYYAT VA INJASANAT in Azeri on 9 August 1985 carries on page 2 an 1,100-word article by Rovshan Valiyev highlighting democratic trends which had surfaced in Iranian Azerbaijani writing after the 1979 revolution in Iran, and assailing the present government for slandering Soviet and Soviet Azerbaijani achievements as well as banning the Southern Azerbaijani democratic media. "In present-day Iran one finds those attempting to inflame an anti-Soviet mentality in a number of press and propaganda organs. Chauvinist bourgeois 'literary hooligans' are making an effort to slander the economic achievements of the Soviet Union, especially Soviet Azerbaijan, in their writings, and wish to create a negative opinion about our literature and fine arts; they are even trying to propagate hostile ideas about Soviet-Iranian relations. At Tabriz University teachers have been categorically forbidden to give their students any information about modern Azerbaijani literature. More precisely, works which are distant from Islam cannot be mentioned." It is added that "in April last year writers and poets from Southern Azerbaijan were excluded from the Third Congress of Muslim Writers, which was held in Mashhad, and no place was given to young literary forces coming from Tabriz at literary evenings held at Tehran University."

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SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

MOSCOW CONFERENCE ON AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT HELD

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 3, May-Jun 85 pp 206-212

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences Yu. Ilin, academic secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on African Problems: "Africa in the 1980's"]

[Text] Once every 5 years, Soviet Africa specialists hold an All-Union conference, at which a set of the most pressing problems of the continent is analyzed. The theme of the 4th All-Union Conference of Africa Specialists (Moscow, October 1984) was "AFRICA IN THE 1980's: THE RESULTS AND PROSPECTS OF DEVELOPMENT."\*

The conference assembled over 600 persons. Representatives of Soviet institutions and organizations engaged in carrying out cooperation with African countries took part in it, along with researchers from Academy and university centers. This significantly increased the practical orientation of the discussions. Scientists of the NRB [Bulgarian People's Republic], VNR [Hungarian People's Republic], GDR [German Democratic Republic] and ChSSR [Czechoslovak Socialist Republic], as well as of Madagascar, Nigeria and Ethiopia were guests of the forum. African diplomats accredited in Moscow and African graduate and undergraduate students studying in the USSR were invited to the conference.

New events and problems in Africa's development were at the center of attention for the meeting's participants. It was pointed out that the economic situation on the continent has become more complicated. As a matter of fact, for many African countries, the question today is not one of development, but of survival. The experience of the last decade has shown that capitalistic credit and loans are incapable of starting the "motor" of self-sustaining and stable growth. It is indicative that those developing countries which permitted the indebtedness noose to be put around their necks have turned out to be in the most distressful condition today. Neocolonialistic robbery of Africa is intensifying and, what is more, its mechanism today has become more versatile and intricate than before.

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\* The theme of the preceding conference (October 1979) was "Afrika v sovremennom mire" [Africa in the Modern World] (See [Social Sciences], 1980, No 3, pp 194-198).



So far as the political situation in Africa is concerned, the attempts of Washington and NATO to turn the continent into a "battlefield" between socialism and capitalism have a most ruinous effect upon it. Consequently, clashes between African countries and the imperialistic powers are becoming sharper. The close connection of African social development with solution of the global problems of the present, and to the preservation of peace and disarmament above all, is making itself ever more clearly apparent.

In convening the conference, Academician P. Fedoseyev, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, stressed that new tasks confront Soviet Africa specialists in the present situation. An even more determined approach to practical needs is required in their research. It is a matter, first of all, of intensifying from the relevant party positions, on the basis of profound scientific analysis of the facts, the exposure of imperialism's aggressive course, its predatory policy toward the African countries, and its encroachment upon their sovereignty and the security of the continent's peoples. It must be shown what an awesome danger the unchecked increase and ubiquitous placement of American nuclear weapons creates for these peoples, what immense damage the arms race inflicts upon Africa, and what opportunities for its economic development can be opened up with reduction of the military expenditures burden. It is very important to stimulate, in every way, the involvement of the African public in the worldwide antiwar movement. The most intense attention would also be devoted to new occurrences and processes in the social development of African countries, particularly to changes in their socio-economic structures, the splitting up of governing regimes and intensification of the political and ideological struggle in the matter of choosing a path of development.

An. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on African Problems, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, presented the report "Experience and Prospects in Investigating the Problems of Africa" in the plenary session. He described in detail the results of the Africa Institute collective's 25 years of scientific activity and the scientific work of the other USSR Academy of Sciences African studies centers.

The report presenter stressed that Soviet African studies are being developed on a firm foundation of Marxist-Leninist theory as a composite discipline using the methods and achievements of economic and historical sciences, political science, sociology, law, cultural studies [kulturologiya] and international relations theory.

In light of the drastic complication of the international situation resulting from actions of the most aggressive forces of imperialism, profound study of the problems of war and peace and the ways of repelling imperialism is becoming the paramount task confronting all of Soviet science, including African studies.

Further elaborating the developmental strategy of the liberated countries, taking into account all the experience amassed in history and all the modern tendencies, requires serious attention. Lately, anticommunist attacks upon socialist orientation in Africa have once again become stronger. Enhancing the concept of socialist orientation, analyzing the optimum ways for its application in the specific circumstances of the different countries, and clarifying individual theoretical tenets and practical conclusions on this basis, are acquiring major significance.

Africa faces difficulties of political and economic, internal and external character enormous in their scales. The long-term social progress goals of the continent's countries can be attained only under conditions of peace, by combining progressive socio-economic reforms with a consistent policy of maximum possible development of productive forces and extensive use of the achievements of science and technology.

In describing the successes of Marxist-Leninist African studies, the report presenter noted the increasing role of Soviet researchers' creative contacts with their colleagues in the fraternal socialist countries, and with the progressive figures of African science and culture, in the studies' development. Uniting potentials of the socialist alliance's Africa specialists has permitted a number of valuable works to be prepared.\* Their cooperation in the future, as well, should promote raising the ideological and theoretical level of research and the active participation of scientists in the strengthening of friendship and mutual understanding between the countries of true socialism and the African States.

The work of the conference proceeded in five thematic sections. Over 100 participants in the "ECONOMIC PROBLEMS" section (cochairmen: L. Goncharov and V. Shchetinin) focused their attention on Africa's common economic problems, various aspects of developmental strategy, particulars of forming a national economy under socialist orientation conditions and the struggle of the continent's States for reconstruction of their international economic relations. An ambiguity was detected in the developmental results of these countries in the 1960's and 1970's. In many countries, the national per capita income fell, the backwardness of their socio-economic structure was retained and their dependence upon the developed capitalistic countries increased. At the same time, positive advances in socialist orientation were noted in a number of the countries.

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\* See, for example: "Strany SEV i Afriki: trgovlya i sotrudnichestvo" [CEMA Countries and the African Countries: Trade and Cooperation], Moscow, 1980, in the Arabian language; "Vneshnyaya politika stran Afriki" [The Foreign Policy of African Countries], Moscow, 1981; "Istoriya Afriki v XIX--nachale XX v." [History of Africa in the 19th and Beginning of the 20th Centuries], Moscow, 1984; and others.

The African countries' aspiration to attain economic independence has found reflection in a regional strategy of development, most clearly expressed in the Lagos Plan of Actions [Lagosskiy plan deystviy].\* This strategy is based upon recognition of the principle of self-support, the necessity for certain reforms of a social nature and the importance of collective efforts in the struggle for revising the discriminatory international economic relations with the West. It was noted that, just in paying off their foreign debts and the interest on them, the African States currently will have to expend up to one-fourth of their currency earnings. Transnational corporations, which hold in their hands from 70 to 90 percent of the market in the raw-materials commodities being produced in Africa, cause special losses for the African States. In the "scissors" of export-import values alone, Africa annually loses billions of dollars in hard currency. The exacting of neocolonial tribute inflicts a most heavy blow upon the continent's export potential. The financing of capital investments in the African countries' economy and the acquiring of new technology, as well as the importing of food, are disrupted because of the necessity of paying off the growing foreign debts.

Bourgeois economists are not stingy with recommendations concerning ways and means for overcoming the economic and social backwardness of the African States. As was emphasized in the section, a common defect is inherent in these recommendations--They ignore the fact that, in countries depending upon private foreign and national capital, social polarization grows steadily and property inequality increases in result of the growth in exploitation. The practical conditions for carrying out profound socio-economic reforms, and overcoming economic backwardness on that basis, arise only with the transition to a socialistically oriented developmental policy.

The countries of socialist orientation are making an active search for effective methods of strengthening their national economy. Definite successes have been achieved on this path, but there also have been lapses. Thus, accelerated industrialization has led, in a number of cases, to an increase in imbalances and economic difficulties. Therefore, adjustment of the economic policy and reallocation of capital investments between industry and agriculture have been required.

In many addresses, attention was directed to the fact that the majority of African countries is shifting the liberation struggle's center of gravity to the economic sphere, emphasizing reconstruction of international economic relations on a democratic basis.

Such questions as "the basic needs concept," opportunities for countries of socialist orientation to neutralize the negative consequences of their relations with the worldwide capitalistic economy, the nature of the State sector and the State system in those countries, the features of industrialization under conditions of underdevelopment, and others, were discussed extensively in

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\* The Lagos Plan of Actions, adopted in 1980 at the conference of chiefs of States and governments of Organization of African Unity countries, envisages Africa's attainment of definite economic independence by the year 2000 on the basis of inter-African cooperation and integration.



the section. Interesting views were expressed regarding ways and means of overcoming the economic difficulties being experienced by the African countries: Increasing the national labor productivity; creative use of measures for import substitution and export orientation; increasing the effectiveness of State fiscal policy; modernizing the traditional way of life; using the experience of certain countries, the economic condition of which remains sufficiently stable; and a solution to the unemployment problem offering not only the creation of new working places, but also the training necessary for efficient use of the labor force there.

It was stressed that the experience of past decades bears witness to the impossibility of radically solving Africa's fundamental socio-economic problems under the conditions of capitalism. Another way is required, calling for radical reforms of internal sociopolitical structures, active opposition to the neo-colonial expansion of imperialism, and uniting the movement for a new international economic order with the struggle for restraining, as reckless imperialism, the United States arms race and that for peace and social progress.

More than 70 persons took part in the work of the "SOCIOPOLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL PROBLEMS" section (cochairmen: Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences G. Starushenko and L. Yablochkov). At the center of their attention were the following questions: The social structure and paths of social progress in African countries, the struggle for the socialist development course and current problems of the countries of socialist orientation, raising the level of party and State leadership in these countries, criticizing non-Marxist ideological trends, and the religious factor in Africa's political life. In the course of discussion, the section's participants arrived at the conclusion that the social structure of a society and the basic tendencies of its changes have a substantial, and sometimes decisive, effect on the choice of path for social progress. This does not mean that such choice is determined only by the social structure; the class and political forces of each country have a very important effect on it.

In discussing the question of evaluating specific State and political forms of social progress, it was pointed out that the criteria for such evaluation must be based upon fundamental Marxist-Leninist tenets, taking into account local economic, sociopolitical and other factors. The discussion confirmed that the conceptual apparatus incorporated into Marxist-Leninist theory is entirely applicable to describing the revolutionary processes taking place in the African countries. It was noted that the objective conditions of the majority of the continent's countries presently rule out the possibility of socialist revolution. The social revolutions there have a national and democratic form. However, in certain countries of the continent, the process of their evolving into people's democratic and socialist revolutions is possible in the presence of the subjective factors.

A prominent position in the addresses was accorded to questions of movement toward socialism in the form of socialist orientation. The common opinion was



expressed that the difficulties being encountered by the countries which have taken this path do not place in doubt either its principal advantages over the capitalistic path of development or the Marxist-Leninist concept, itself, of such a form of social progress. The problem lies in clarifying the individual tenets of this concept on the basis of studying and generalizing practical experience, and above all, experience in fundamental improvement of the management of an economy and in elevation of the level and methods of political leadership. The most effective directive force in Africa's circumstances can be only an avant-garde party relying on the working class and guided by advanced Marxist-Leninist theory. The need for strengthening the alliance of communists and revolutionary democrats was emphasized. The right-wing conservative, left-wing radical and bourgeois liberal concepts of the African States' development being advanced by bourgeois political scientists were subjected to critical examination in the section. It was shown that these concepts are eclectic and unscientific at their base; do not take into account the distinctive features of African reality; and falsely contrast true socialism with the national liberation movement, facilitating capitalism's counterattack thereby, and hurting the revolutionary liberation movements in Africa. It was noted that more and more leading African scientists are seeking to interpret these concepts critically, guided by Marxist-Leninist methodology.

Sessions of the "INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS OF AFRICAN COUNTRIES" section (co-chairmen: V. Goncharov and Ye. Tarabrin) assembled over 70 participants. The thesis was substantiated that the international relations of African countries encompass the entire aggregate of their interrelations with the outside world in the political, economic, ideological, social, military and diplomatic fields. Being determined by a complex of internal factors, they are developed and modified, on the whole, under the influence of the international situation. The relations of African States with other countries of the world largely are determined by the increasing struggle of all the forces of peace and progress against imperialistic reaction.

Those who made addresses called attention to the fact that Africa's liberated countries' awareness of their community of interests is growing steadily. The necessity to oppose imperialism and its neocolonialistic strategy unites them. The aspiration to put an end to their economic dependence on the West and their age-old backwardness, and to create favorable conditions for social and economic development, unites them: A growing comprehension of the danger of a nuclear war's breaking out, and the need for unity of all peace-loving forces in the struggle to preserve life on our planet, is becoming, and all the meeting's participants stressed this, an ever more powerful uniting factor.

In many addresses, stress was placed upon the significance of the positive influence of the peaceful policy of the USSR and the countries of the socialist alliance on African States' participation in the struggle for peace and disarmament, for reconstruction of international economic relations on a fair and equitable basis, and against all forms of colonial, neocolonial and racial oppression. The socialist countries are providing varied support and assistance to Africa's countries and protecting their fundamental interests in the international arena.

Over 150 researchers worked in the four subsections of the "HISTORY, CULTURE, ETHNOGRAPHY, LITERATURE AND LANGUAGES" section (cochairmen: Corresponding Member of the USSR Academy of Sciences D. Olderogge and A. Vasilyev): "History in Modern and Most Recent Times," "Culture and Ethnography," "Literary Science [Arts]" and "Linguistics." Light was shed on the results of new research on the history of African society; bourgeois conceptions in this area were examined critically; a comparative analysis of the historical process in countries having a different sociopolitical orientation was given; ethnocultural aspects of the development of African States and position of cultural heritage in African social thought were discussed; new features of the African literature of the late 1970's and early 1980's, and its role in the ideological struggle, were brought to light; and the results of a sociolinguistic and historical-typological study of the African languages and newly written and unwritten languages of the continent's peoples were presented.

In the "GEOGRAPHY AND THE DISPOSITION OF PRODUCTIVE FORCES" section (cochairmen: M. Gornung and Yu. Zelenskiy), attention was focused mainly on such problems as the ecology and resources situation which is developing in Africa at the modern stage, the effect of the ecology and resources and naturally-occurring raw materials factors on the socio-economic development of the continent's countries, the development of their productive forces, the demographic situation and the features of urbanization. It was pointed out in the addresses that, at present, the majority of African countries has been confronted by a dilemma: Growth in the requirement for food and worsening of the natural base for its production. The section assembled over 40 participants.

In summing up the conference, An. Gromyko stressed the growing interest of scientists of the USSR and the other socialist countries in Africa's pressing problems, the importance of further instituting interdisciplinary scientific contacts and uniting the efforts of the Africa specialists working in our country's different centers and their colleagues in the fraternal countries. It is necessary to intensify the comprehensive approach to studying the African countries' pivotal problems of social development, shedding light on the close connection of these with the global problems of mankind. Finally, in close contact with the representatives of institutions and organizations doing the practical work, effective, active implementation of the scientists' conclusions and recommendations should be achieved.

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